

Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Places in the Thracian World

Proceedings of the International Colloquium
Braşov, 19th-21th of October 2006

Edited by Valeriu Sîrbu and Radu Ştefănescu



Editura C2 Design
Braşov

Iron Age Sanctuaries and Cult Places in the Thracian World

Braşov County Council

County History Museum of Braşov

**International Union of the Pre-
and Protohistoric Sciences**

30th Commission

Museum of Brăila

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**Proceedings of the International Colloquium
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**Organizing Committee:
Valeriu Sîrbu - President
Radu Ştefănescu - General Secretary**

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IRON AGE SANCTUARIES AND CULT PLACES IN THE THRACIAN WORLD

Editat de Valeriu Sîrbu și Radu Ștefănescu

Brașov, Editura C2 Design, 2007

270 p, il.; bibl., abr., A4

ISBN-10 973-8424-54-2

ISBN-13 978-973-8424-54-8

Tipografia BRASTAR Print

str. Dorobanților nr. 6, 500009 Brașov, tel./fax: 0268-475737

Comanda nr. 2068 / 29.11.2007

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ABREVIATIONS

AA	=Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
ACMIT	=Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Transilvania
ActaMN	= Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
ActaMP	= Acta Musei Porolissensis, Muzeul județean de istorie și artă Zalău
A.I.S.C.	= Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia	= Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia, Institut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego
Ancient Macedonia	= Ancient Macedonia, Thessaloniki
Analele Banatului	= Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara.
Apulum	= Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
Archacologia Bulgarica	= Archacologia Bulgarica, Sofia
ArheologijaSofia	= Arheologija na Muzeite i Institut Arheologij, Sofia
Arh.Mold	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
Banatica	= Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița.
CAB	= Cercetări arheologice în București, Muzeul de istorie al orașului București
Carpica	= Carpica, Complexul Muzeal Bacău, Bacău
CCAR	= Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
CercetArh	= Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României
Crisia	= Muzeul Tării Crișurilor Oradea
EphNap	= Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
Germania	= Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
Helis	= Helis. Archaeological Museum and Institute Sofia. Museum Historical – Isperih
Inventaria Archaeologica	= Inventaria Archaeologica, Bucurest
Istros	= Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila
IzvestijaSofia	= Izvestija na Arheologhičeski Institut, Sofia.
Marisia	= Marisia, Muzeul județean Mureș
Maritsa-Iztok	= Maritsa-Iztok , Archaeological Research, Radnevo
MCA	= Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București
Mousaios	= Mousaios. Mujeul județean Buzău
Peuce	= Peuce, Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, Tulcea
Pontica	= Pontica, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologic, Constanța
Przegląd Archeologiczny	= Przegląd Archeologiczny, Poznan-Wroclaw
Pulpudeva	= Académie Bulgare des Sciences – Institut de Thracologie, Sofia
Revista de istorie	= Revista de istorie, București
RMM	= Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor, București
RPAN	= Revista de Preistorie și Antichități Naționale, București
SCIV(A)	= Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie), Institutul de Arheologie "V. Pârvan", București.
SlovArch	= Slovenska Archeológija, Nitra
Sovietskaja Archeologija	= Sovietskaja Archeologija, Moskva
Sprawozdania Archeologiczne	= Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, Krakow
Starini	= Starini. Journal of Balkan Archaeology, Sofia
Studii de preistorie	= Studii de preistorie, București
Suceava	= Suceava, Muzeul Bucovinei, Suceava
Thraco-Dacica	= Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Român de Tracologie, București

INTRODUCERE

Organizarea unui colocviu cu tema „Sanctuare și locuri de cult din epoca fierului în lumea tracică” a fost o întreprindere dificilă.

În primul rând, a fost dificultatea temei, general recunoscută, întrucât deseori rămân extrem de puține vestigii care să poată reflecta dialogul dintre oameni și zei, acești „parteneri” invizibili și atotputernici.

În al doilea rând, sărăcia informațiilor scrise păstrate despre viața spirituală a tracilor ne privează de informații esențiale privitoare atât la conținutul ca atare al credințelor și mitologiei acestora, cât și despre gesturile ori incantațiile care însoțeau ritualurile.

În al treilea rând, regimurile comuniste, care au dominat circa jumătate de secol aproape toate teritoriile locuite odinioară de traci, au împiedicat serios progresul normal al cercetărilor în domeniul sacrului întrucât evoluția umană trebuia privită doar prin prisma teoriei marxist-leniniste și a materialismului istoric. La acestea s-au adăugat dificultățile informării și a dialogului cu cercetătorii de dincolo de „cortina de fier”.

Totuși, descoperirea a numeroase vestigii de cult pe pământurile tracilor, între care se remarcă templele și reprezentările figurative de pe piesele din metale prețioase – au permis o serie de observații și concluzii importante privitoare la viața spirituală a acestora.

Am apreciat, de aceea, că organizarea acestui colocviu este deosebit de importantă, cel puțin din două motive: pe de o parte, pentru a vedea stadiul de cunoaștere a fenomenului și, pe de altă parte, pentru a ne propune o strategie comună de cercetare, un schimb mai rapid de idei și publicații.

Participarea a peste 20 de cercetători valoroși din România, Rep. Moldova, Bulgaria, Grecia și Polonia a reprezentat, prin valoarea comunicărilor și discuțiile care au avut loc, un pas important în cercetarea vieții spirituale a tracilor. S-au prezentat și aspecte importante ale vieții spirituale din lumea grecilor, a celților, ca și a altor popoare, cu care tracii au intrat în contact și s-au influențat reciproc.

De asemenea, acest volum reprezintă un succes deosebit, din mai multe puncte de vedere: include 15 studii valoroase, în limbile engleză și franceză, este editat în anul imediat următor colocviului, în condiții grafice deosebite, ceea ce-i va asigura o largă circulație internațională.

Faptul că acest colocviu se desfășoară sub egida Comisiei XXX a Uniunii Internaționale de Studii Pre- și Protoistorice – „Practici mortuare în Pre- și Protoistorie” – poate să surprindă doar la prima vedere; dacă, însă, avem în vedere că aceste credințe privitoare la „viața de dincolo” reprezintă o parte importantă din viața spirituală a oamenilor și că o serie din ritualurile dedicate zeilor s-au desfășurat în necropole, faptul devine explicabil.

Volumul a fost pregătit pentru tipar la Muzeul Brăilei; mulțumim colegilor Dana Smasnov și Roberto Tănăsache pentru ajutorul acordat la aranjarea în pagină a studiilor și, respectiv, realizarea grafică a copertilor.

Ne facem o datorie de onoare din a mulțumi Muzeului Județean de Istorie din Brașov, în special d-lui director Radu Ștefănescu, pentru triplul efort, în special de natură financiară, pe care l-a făcut: de organizare a colocviului, de publicare a comunicărilor și de editare a două volume dedicate vieții spirituale a geto-dacilor.

Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu
Președintele Comisiei XXX a U.I.S.P.P.

INTRODUCTION

Organiser un colloque portant sur « Les sanctuaires de l'âge du Fer et les lieux de culte dans le monde thrace » s'avère être, de plusieurs points de vue, une entreprise ardue.

Tout d'abord, il s'agit d'un thème généralement reconnu comme difficile, puisque le plus souvent très peu de vestiges nous restent pour refléter le dialogue entre les hommes et les dieux, ces « partenaires » invisibles et tout-puissants.

Deuxièmement, la rareté extrême des écrits conservés portant sur la vie spirituelle des Thraces nous privent des informations essentielles concernant autant le contenu tel quel de leurs croyances et mythologie, que les gestes ou les incantations qui accompagnaient les rituels.

Troisièmement, c'est la faute aux régimes communistes qui avaient dominé pour la moitié d'un siècle presque tous les territoires habités jadis par les Thraces et qui avaient beaucoup empêché le progrès normal des recherches dans le domaine du sacré, puisqu'ils ne voyaient l'évolution humaine qu'à travers la théorie marxiste-léniniste et le matérialisme historique. A tout cela s'ajoute la difficulté de l'information et du dialogue entre les chercheurs au-delà du « rideau de fer ».

Néanmoins, toute une série de vestiges découverts dans les territoires des Thraces, dont on remarque les temples et les représentations figuratives sur les pièces en métaux précieux, nous permettent de faire des observations importantes sur la vie spirituelle de ceux-ci.

Aussi avons-nous considéré que l'organisation de ce colloque est importante, au moins, pour trois raisons : pour voir le stade de connaissance du phénomène, pour proposer une stratégie commune de recherche et pour un échange plus rapide d'idées et de publications.

La participation des 20 chercheurs importants de Roumanie, République de Moldavie, Bulgarie, Grèce et Pologne a représenté, par la valeur des communications et les discussions qui ont suivi, un pas important dans la recherche de la vie spirituelle des Thraces. On y a présenté également des aspects majeurs de la vie spirituelle des Grecs et Celtes, peuples qui sont entrés en contact avec les Thraces et se sont mutuellement influencés.

Le volume représente un succès tout particulier pour plusieurs raisons : il comprend une quinzaine d'études de valeur, en anglais et en français, il a été publié dans l'année suivante au colloque, dans des conditions graphiques exceptionnelles, ce qui lui assurera une large diffusion internationale.

Ce colloque tient ses travaux sous l'égide de la XXX^e Commission de l'Union Internationale d'Etudes Pré- et Protohistoriques – « Pratiques funéraires pré- et protohistoriques », ce qui peut surprendre à première vue; si l'on tient compte que ces croyances sur le « monde de l'au-delà » représentent une partie importante de la vie spirituelle des gens et qu'une série des rituels consacrés aux dieux se tenaient dans les nécropoles, alors tout s'explique et se justifie.

La préparation du volume pour la publication a été réalisée au Musée de Braila; nous remercions dans ce sens nos collègues Dana Smasnov et Roberto Tănăsache pour l'aide accordée à la mise en page des études et, respectivement, la réalisation graphique des couvertures.

Ce sera notre devoir d'honneur de remercier le Musée d'Histoire de Braşov, en particulier, au directeur, Monsieur Radu Ştefănescu, pour son triple effort, surtout financier : organiser le colloque, publier les travaux et éditer deux volumes portant sur la vie spirituelle des Gêto-Daces.

Dr. Valeriu Sîrbu
Président de la XXX^e Commission de U.I.S.P.P.

QUELQUES CONSIDERATIONS SUR LES TEMPLES DATANT DE L'EPOQUE DU ROYAUME DACE

Cristina Bodó (Deva - Roumanie)

Mots-clés: espace sacré, Royaume dace, temple, autel, offrande.

Résumé. La matérialisation du sacré chez les Daces s'avère être d'une grande variété, tout comme chez les autres peuples antiques. La plus impressionnante consiste en les temples quadrilatères et circulaires élevés en pierre, la plupart dans la zone capitale du Royaume dace. On les a traités dans maints ouvrages, néanmoins ils continuent à soulever toute une série de problèmes.

Toute société laisse son empreinte sur l'espace et, en revanche, l'espace apparaît comme une modalité d'expression de la société (Cadoret 1999, p. 635-636). Toutes les communautés « construisent » le territoire qu'elles occupent, compte tenu des différentes déterminations, depuis des critères d'usage jusqu'à leur propre système de représentation du monde. C'est en fonction de ces coordonnées que les communautés exploitent, transforment, façonnent l'espace, de sorte que celui-ci n'est jamais homogène: la possibilité de l'utiliser tient compte de principes précis de différenciation, tandis que les modalités d'occuper l'espace et d'en exploiter les ressources ne sauraient être séparées d'un codage symbolique (Cadoret 1999, p. 635-636).

Par conséquent, l'espace n'est pas homogène pour l'homme religieux (Eliade 2002, p. 17), l'homme prend toujours soin de différencier le milieu environnant en fonction de ses besoins et certains endroits peuvent recevoir une légitimité surnaturelle, une consécration en raison de leur sacralité (Wunenburger 2000, p. 62). Pour l'homme religieux, la révélation de l'espace sacré acquiert une valeur existentielle; tout espace sacré implique une épiphanie, une manifestation du sacré, qui mène à un détachement du territoire de son milieu environnant et sa transformation qualitative (Eliade 2002, p. 20). Les gens n'ont pas la liberté de choisir le lieu sacré, ils ne peuvent que le chercher et le découvrir à travers des signes mystérieux (Eliade 2002, p. 22).

Cet espace à valences sacrées peut revêtir diverses formes (Glinister 1997, p. 61-67), plus ou moins spectaculaires, soit qu'il s'agisse d'une forêt, d'une source, d'une grotte (dans l'archéologie, ce n'est que par les offrandes déposées qu'on peut les reconnaître) ou bien il serait plus clairement marqué par l'intervention humaine: complexes de fosses, constructions sacrées, autels, âtres de culte.

Il existe, chez la majorité des peuples antiques, une grande diversité de lieux à caractère sacré et le monde dace n'en fait pas exception: sanctuaires, fosses de culte, puits, lieux sacrés avec des dépôts, enceintes sacrées, âtres de culte; nous pourrions également supposer l'existence des sources, grottes sacrées, bocages. Certes, tout cela reflète une variété des manifestations de culte que nous aurions de la peine à reconstituer dans l'absence des sources littéraires, mais seulement d'en présumer l'existence. Nous sommes d'avis qu'ils ont une caractéristique commune - l'espace sur lequel on a fait le dépôt, sur lequel on a bâti, est un espace consacré, sorti de la sphère du profane et investi d'une signification toute particulière pour les membres de

la communauté respective. Des lieux de culte, on en trouve dans tout le territoire habité par les Gêto-Daces, répandus, à peu d'exceptions, d'une manière assez homogène.

On a trouvé des lieux avec des dépôts à: Bănești (dép. de Prahova), Brad (dép. de Bacău), Bratei (dép. de Sibiu), Zvoriștea (dép. de Succava), Sfântu Gheorghe (dép. de Covasna), Piscu Coconilor, Pietroasele (dép. de Buzău), Orlea (dép. d'Olt), Oradea – Salca (dép. de Bihor), Ocnîța (dép. de Vâlcea), Miercurea Ciuc (dép. de Harghita), Măgura Moigradului (dép. de Sălaj) etc. C'étaient des endroits où des communautés plus grandes ou plus petites faisaient des dépôts périodiques, représentant parfois le lieu où l'on déposait les individus du même établissement, autrefois, des individus de plusieurs communautés avoisinées. De tels lieux de culte, utilisés parfois depuis la préhistoire jusqu'à l'âge du fer, ont été trouvés au sud du Danube, sur le territoire de la Bulgarie d'aujourd'hui. Les caractéristiques de ces monuments sont les suivantes (Sîrbu 1992, p. 39-52): la prédilection de leur emplacement sur des formes dominantes, la forme variée, la structure consistant en maintes fosses, foyers, plates-formes avec diverses offrandes, dépôts de vases, le nombre des fosses variant depuis quelques dizaines jusqu'à quelques centaines, mobilier divers, (ce qui y est caractéristique, ce sont la terre ameublie, les débris du feu, foyers et murs d'édifices, os d'animaux, fragments céramiques). Ils se datent aux II^e siècle av. J.-C. – II^e siècle apr. J.-C.

Dans la même série des lieux à signification cultuelle, il faut énumérer les puits, dont le plus connu est celui de Ciolăneștii din Deal (Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Sanie 1972, p. 241-258; Petrescu-Dâmbovița 1974, p. 285-290), ensuite ceux de Răcătău, Popești, Piscu Crăsani, Brad. Il serait bon de mentionner également le complexe intéressant de Conțești, comm. Davidești (dép. de Argeș) (Vulpe, Popescu 1976, p. 217-226, Nicolăescu-Plopșor 1976, p. 227-230) ou bien la découverte faite dans la tourbière de Lozna (dép. de Botoșani) (Teodor, Șadurschi 1978, p. 121-140; Teodor 1989, p. 68-72).

Un aspect plus particulier s'avère être celui des bâtiments à abside (Bodó 2000, p. 251-275), découverts à Cărlomănești, Cetățeni, Fețele Albe, Malaja Kopanja, Meleia, Pecica, Piatra Roșie, Popești, Dealul Pustăiosu, Rudele, Solotvino, Șimleul Silvaniei, Tei, où l'abside représente, presque sûrement, le lieu consacré à la divinité, mais tous les cas ne signifient pas que le bâtiment en entier a un caractère sacré.

Si l'on fait des analogies avec d'autres espaces et avec certains dépôts d'outils en fer ou objets en argent, alors on pourrait les considérer des dépôts à caractère rituel.

Les fosses de culte sont bien nombreuses (Beldiman, Szöcs 1992, p. 259-263; Gheorghiu 2000 p. 232-238, Sîrbu 1993); c'est le mobilier (et parfois l'intentionnalité du dépôt) qui en détermine le caractère; compte tenu de ce dernier élément, il en existe plusieurs types: fosses à dépôts de vases: Poiana (dép. de Galați), Răcătău (dép. de Bacău), Tășad (dép. de Bihor), Cladova (dép. d'Arad), Popești (dép. de Giurgiu), Sprâncenata (dép. d'Olt), Radovanu (dép. de Călărași), Vlădicasca, Grădiștea (dép. de Brăila), Eliseni (dép. de Harghita), Merești (dép. de Harghita), Sânsimion (dép. de Harghita), Băzdăna (dép. de Dolj), Cârcea (dép. de Dolj); fosses à dépôts d'animaux: Zimnicea (dép. de Teleorman), Brad (dép. de Bacău), Căscioarele – Cătălui (dép. de Călărași), Șura Mică (dép. de Sibiu), Someșeni (dép. de Cluj), Șeușa (dép. d'Alba), Poiana (dép. de Galați), Cătunu (dép. de Dâmbovița), Lupu (dép. d'Alba); d'une part, il y a des fosses où l'on peut trouver le résultat des sacrifices humains (faits dans diverses occasions) et de l'autre, des fosses (la majorité) où le mobilier consiste en tout ce qu'on avait mentionné ci-dessus. Il existe encore des fosses près des bâtiments sacrés (Piatra Craivii, dép. d'Alba, Brad, dép. de Bacău), où, probablement, on avait déposé le résultat des rituels accomplis dans ou près du temple. Néanmoins, la diversité des matériels découverts dans les fosses s'explique par les

rituels différents, à la suite desquels on les y avait déposés et que nous ne saurions que, dans le meilleur cas, supposer.

Les âtres ornementaux trouvés dans maints établissements du territoire dace, à Cârlomanești (dép. de Buzău), Poiana (dép. de Galați), București – Mihai Vodă, Popești – Nucet (dép. de Giurgiu), Popești – Leordeni, Vlădiceasca sont considérés comme des autels, des lieux ayant trait au culte, des espaces où l'on accomplissait des rituels. Nous retrouvons ce type de monument de culte dans la Plaine Valaque et au sud de la Moldavie (à Popești) qui se date aux II^e siècle av. J.-C. – I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C., et pourrait constituer une influence sud-thrace (Comșa, 1997, p. 247-260).

Les temples dressés en pierre représentent dans ce territoire la plus impressionnante matérialisation du sacré. Les premiers temples découverts ont été ceux de la zone des Monts Șurcanu, dont les caractéristiques ont longtemps servi comme critère de déterminer le caractère sacré d'un bâtiment.

Vers la fin du XIX^e siècle, on a signalé l'existence de la construction qui allait entrer dans la littérature de spécialité sous le nom de « grand sanctuaire circulaire » de Dealul Grădiștii (Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, p. 82-84, avec la bibliographie); les fouilles systématiques n'y commenceront que dans la période de l'entre-deux guerres, aux temples de Costești (Daicoviciu, Ferenczi 1951, p. 17). La zone sacrée de Dealul Grădiștii sera mise à jour à partir des années '50 et c'est de cette période que date la classification des constructions sacrées en deux grandes catégories: temples quadrilatères- formés d'alignements de colonnes, et temples circulaires.

Le nombre des temples découverts dans la zone intra- et extracarpatique augmente suite à l'extension des fouilles archéologiques et les nouveaux vestiges apporteront des informations supplémentaires sur certains aspects des bâtiments sacrés dans le monde des Géo-Daces. On y a découvert autant des temples circulaires que quadrilatères, élevés en pierre, bois et argile ou seulement en bois et argile.

L'historiographie des bâtiments sacrés abonde en discussions sur la manière de présenter leur superstructure (s'ils étaient ou non couverts) et de nombreuses propositions de reconstruction. En plus, certains chercheurs ont tenté d'interpréter quelques-uns de ces monuments comme des calendriers (il s'agit, en premier lieu, du « grand sanctuaire circulaire » de Sarmizegetusa Regia) (Daicoviciu, H. 1960, p. 251-254; Daicoviciu, H. 1965, p. 383-385; Antonescu 1981, p. 209-212; Florescu 1990, p. 11-19), et, plus récemment, on a étudié les possibles implications astronomiques des monuments de culte (Stănescu 1987-1988, p. 119-138; Stănescu 1997, p. 807-817; Stănescu 2001, p. 324-333);

Si dans la première étape des recherches on croyait que les sanctuaires n'étaient pas couverts (Daicoviciu, H. 1972, p. 210), plus tard on a pu démontrer que ceux-ci auraient dû être recouverts afin de correspondre au but initial de leur construction (lieux de culte de la communauté). Voir les arguments à cet égard chez: I.H. Crișan (1993, tome II, p. 102-108), I. Glodariu (Strâmbu, Glodariu 1981, p. 382), D. Antonescu (1980, p. 499-516). Ils apportent, pour soutenir leur hypothèse, des arguments logiques, aussi bien qu'archéologiques. Les principaux traits de l'architecture géto-dace prend contour (Crișan 1993, vol. II, p. 82): les sanctuaires sont des édifices couverts et totalement ou partiellement délimités des murs, bâtis en pierre, bois ou argile. L'argument de D. Antonescu (Antonescu 1980, p. 72) pour démontrer l'existence du toit c'est la présence des bâtisseurs grecs qui ne pouvaient choisir que cette solution, du moment que la hauteur de 1,20-1,50 m annule et minimise le volume de la construction. N'oublions pas la découverte faite à Augustin (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 26), où on a trouvé un fragment de paroi de la chambre intérieure, ce qui démontre sans conteste la présence du toit – pas de toit, pas de paroi en bois et argile.

Quant à l'origine des temples, les opinions prennent deux directions principales, nuancées, naturellement par certains chercheurs: soit ces monuments représentaient des modèles plus ou moins fidèles des temples grecs, soit, ils témoignaient d'un caractère original, autochtone. C. Daicoviciu (1952, p. 294) ne croit pas que, dans ce milieu dace, il faille s'attendre à des temples du type classique gréco-romain et parle du «type des temples daces». D. Antonescu (1980, p. 72) considère qu'il faut chercher l'influence des artisans grecs seulement dans les solutions techniques, puisque, dans le reste, il existe un plan original, spécifiquement dace. D. Antonescu (1980, p. 72) explique les temples quadrilatères par l'importance de la forêt en tant qu'espace pour les Daces, de sorte que la colonne est en fait une transposition de l'arbre, et alors le sanctuaire initial quadrilatère, en bois, reflétait d'une certaine façon la forêt (le sanctuaire de Barboși semble être l'image la plus rapprochée du prototype).

I. Glodariu (1976 p. 249-258) croit que, pareil à d'autres populations, chez les Daces aussi a lieu un processus, à savoir la transposition de la conception constructive, de l'architecture profane dans celle religieuse, les sanctuaires circulaires complexes diffèrent des constructions laïques par leur forme régulière, par le soin accordé aux détails, par le mobilier.

Dans l'opinion de I.H. Crișan (1993, p. 110), les sanctuaires ont pour modèles les maisons ordinaires ou les sanctuaires grecs. Néanmoins il semble hésiter à en établir l'origine ; il affirme que les sanctuaires quadrilatères semblent avoir été inspirés par ceux grecs à péristyle, et les circulaires, par les bâtiments du type tholos, mais le même auteur soutient une autre thèse, celle que les bâtiments circulaires se retrouvent dans plusieurs espaces, aussi lui paraît-il évident que les habitations daces rondes se trouvent à la base des sanctuaires circulaires.

Faisant référence aux sanctuaires circulaires, N. Conovici și G. Trohani (1988, p. 210) croient, en dépit d'une origine grecque présumée de ce genre de bâtiment, que l'idée se retrouve chez les Géo-Daces autant dans une période plus ancienne que dans les constructions laïques.

Certes, l'influence grecque, ensuite romaine, se voit aussi dans les solutions techniques abordées au cas des temples en pierre, normales si l'on tient compte de la présence des bâtisseurs grecs et romains attestés autant dans les vestiges archéologiques que dans le peu de sources écrites. Leur présence ne signifiait pas l'importation de leurs propres modèles, mais seulement l'importation des techniques de travail.

Les propositions de reconstitution varient en fonction du point de vue de l'auteur sur l'origine des sanctuaires, l'acceptation ou non de l'existence du toit, le stade des recherches archéologiques. Les plus importantes contributions à cet égard appartiennent à: H. Daicoviciu (1965, p. 146), I.H. Crișan și M. Moldovan (1975, p. 91-106), I. Glodariu și M. Strîmbu (1981, p. 377-386), I.H. Crișan și V. Salvanu (1992, p. 15-32), D. Antonescu (1984; 1980, p. 69-76), ce dernier ayant aussi proposé une méthode de travail générale: «Il est exclus d'accepter des solutions différentes là où il existe des programmes et plans identiques et la reconstitution doit se faire de telle sorte que les éléments composants proposés puissent être repris sans changements essentiels dans le cadre d'un objectif ressemblant».

Il existe deux types de temples: rectangulaires et circulaires, qui ont fait l'objet de maints ouvrages de spécialité, dont récemment le volume portant exclusivement sur ce type de bâtiment, (Pescaru 2005, avec la bibliographie); en raison de tout cela, nous n'allons pas en faire une présentation détaillée.

Les temples circulaires sont de deux types: complexes, formés de plusieurs chambres concentriques – les deux extérieures circulaires et la centrale à abside, découverts à: Dealul Grădiștii (l'antique Sarmizegetusa Regia), village de Grădiștea de Munte (comm. Orăștioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 113-117; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1952, p. 283-286; Daicoviciu, H., Glodariu 1976, p. 75; Daicoviciu, H. et collab. 1983, p. 233)

et Augustin (dép. de Braşov) (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40) et simples, consistant en une seule chambre circulaires, découverts à Feţele Albe, village de Grădiştea de Munte (comm. Orăştioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu H. 1971, p. 257-262), Dealul Grădiştii, village de Grădiştea de Munte (comm. Orăştioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1953, p. 282), Pecica (dép. d'Arad) (Crişan 1966, p. 91-100), Brad (dép. de Bacău) (Ursachi 1995, p. 62-69).

Des temples rectangulaires, on en a trouvé à Costeşti - Cătăuic (comm. Orăştioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu, H. 1972, p. 205-206), Costeşti – Blidaru – lieu dit Pietroasa lui Solomon (comm. Orăştioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) (Glodariu et collab. 2003, p. 107-108), Dealul Grădiştii, village de Grădiştea de Munte (comm. Orăştioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 108-110, 118; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1952, p. 287-288, 292-296; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1953, p. 156-164; Daicoviciu C. et collab., 1961, p. 303-305; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1962, p. 466-467; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1973, p. 63-65), Augustin (dép. de Braşov) (Costea 2006, p. 181-193), Băniţa (dép. de Hunedoara) (Macrea et collab. 1966, p. 27), Galaţi - Barboşi (dép. de Galaţi) (Gostar, 1969, p. 33), Bâta Doamnei (dép. de Neamţ) (Gostar 1969, p. 18-19), Căpâlna (comm. Săsciori, dép. d'Alba) (Glodariu, Moga, 1989, p. 56-60; Moga, 1982, p. 275-278), Craiva - Piatra Craivii (comm. Cricău, dép. d'Alba) (Moga, 1987, p. 35; Macrea et collab. 1966, p. 50-51; Moga et collab. 2007, p. 141), Piatra Roşie (comm. Boşorod, dép. de Hunedoara) (Daicoviciu et collab. 1954, p. 55-56).

D'une manière générale, on peut dire que, dans le même endroit, un seul type de temple était fonctionnel en même temps, sauf Sarmizegetusa Regia (c'est un cas à part, avec un complexe qui doit être regardé et analysé dans son ensemble) et Augustin, où il existe autant des temples circulaires que rectangulaires, peut-être Feţele Albe.

D'habitude, les temples sont situés en dehors de la fortification, à peu d'exceptions: à Augustin, il existe un temple quadrilatère dans l'enceinte, à Băniţa, il semble que les plinthes aient été découvertes dans l'espace enfermé par le mur et à Costeşti, l'un des temples est situé *intravallum*.

Les temples rectangulaires consistent en des alignements de colonnes, mais dans les Monts Orăştici, ils sont inclus dans une enceinte rectangulaire marquée par des pilastres. On élevait ce type de temple de la manière suivante: on faisait un fondement pour chaque colonne à part – on creusait une fosse demi-circulaire, que l'on remplissait avec de l'argile et pierre, en dessus on mettait une plinthe presque circulaire en pierre (calcaire, andésite), au-dessus de laquelle on élevait la colonne en bois ou pierre. Tous les temples étaient recouverts de tuile ou de bardeau. N'ayant pas de fondation, les pilastres ayant servi pour périmètre aux temples des Monts Şureanu, ne pouvaient pas soutenir, mais seulement démarquer «la zone la plus sacrée», l'espace où les initiés seuls étaient admis. Les temples quadrilatères et l'abside au centre de ceux circulaires sont orientés, sauf quelques exceptions, vers nord-nord-ouest. Il n'y a pas de règle quant au nombre total des plinthes, la distance entre les rangées de plinthes et les dimensions de celles-ci.

A Grădiştea de Munte (comm. Orăştioara de Sus, dép. de Hunedoara) se trouve l'antique Sarmizegetusa Regia, la zone sacrée la plus impressionnante et la plus complète en conception. On y trouve des temples quadrilatères et circulaires disposés sur deux terrasses (ill. 1-4): la X-e et la XI-e, qui, tout comme la plupart des terrasses de la colline Grădiştei, sont faites par l'homme, mais on y a aussi bâti des murs d'appui pour ces terrasses de grandes dimensions. Ayant utilisé la technique *murus dacicus*, les murs s'élèvent juste en face des IX-e, X-e et XI-e terrasses. Les matériaux pour la zone sacrée (temples, autel, place) ont été le calcaire, l'andésite et le bois.

A un moment donné, 7 temples fonctionnaient dans la zone: deux circulaires et cinq rectangulaires, les uns ayant subi le long du temps, des modifications et des reconstructions. L'accès dans la zone sacrée de l'antique Sarmizegetusa Regia se faisait par un chemin qui venait de la cité, pavé de dalles de calcaire et servant aux processions

A l'entrée dans l'aire sacrée, le chemin se bifurquait en deux, l'un vers le temple de la X-e terrasse, et l'autre aboutissait dans la place de la XI-e terrasse, pavée aussi avec des dalles de calcaire.

Un seul temple quadrilatère se trouvait sur la X-e terrasse, bâti initialement en calcaire et bois, ensuite en andésite, cette seconde phase de construction se passant dans l'époque des guerres avec les Romains sous la commande de Trajan (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 108-110; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1952, p. 292-296; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1953, p. 154-164; Daicoviciu H. et collab. 1986, p. 105).

Comme nous l'avons déjà précisé, sur cette terrasse avait fonctionné, dans une période plus ancienne, un temple de calcaire, orienté NE-SO, dont il reste encore quelques poteaux de calcaire qui avaient clôturé l'édifice. On a démoli cette construction, on a agrandi la terrasse (en élevant un second mur d'appui) et on a commencé à dresser le temple d'andésite, formé de six rangées avec une dizaine de colonnes chacune. Les dimensions en étaient 37,50 x 31,50 m et l'orientation, NE-SO.

Il se peut que les Daces aient voulu dresser un bâtiment impressionnant, du moment que c'est le seul à avoir les colonnes en pierre; nous y remarquons, en tant qu'éléments de construction, trois composantes (tout en pierre, semble-t-il): la plinthe d'andésite (plus de deux mètres de diamètre), mise sur une fondation en pierre et argile, au-dessus de laquelle on montait un tambour et la colonne. Vu que les Romains avaient réutilisé de nombreux éléments du temple, car on les a découverts, par exemple, dans la muraille de la fortification romaine ou bien enfouis, et que la recherche archéologique mène à la découverte de certains éléments inédits, en proposer des reconstitutions serait une spéculation.

De dimensions plus réduites, les autres temples sont situés sur la XI-e terrasse. Dans la partie méridionale, il y a deux temples quadrilatères en calcaire, l'un d'eux relevant de plusieurs phases de construction, la plus ancienne datant de l'époque de Burebista.

Le temple ancien en calcaire a connu trois phases de construction (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1952, p. 304-305; Daicoviciu H. et collab. 1983, p. 233; Daicoviciu H. et collab. 1986, p. 105). Nous allons les présenter en commençant par la plus ancienne, qui consiste en une rangée de groupes, 3-4 blocs de calcaire chacun, mis en croix ou rectangulaires.

Le niveau suivant se trouve à 2,85 m de profondeur et consiste en un temple formé de quatre alignements, 15 colonnes chacun (dont on a conservé les plinthes de calcaire). Autour du temple il y avait une clôture de poteaux en bois (on en a trouvé des traces). Les colonnes du même alignement se trouvaient à 2,50 m l'une de l'autre et la distance entre les rangées était de 3,20 m. Les archéologues ont découvert à l'intérieur de l'édifice, un médaillon en argile cuite sur lequel était représentée une figure féminine: une analogie pour cette pièce pourrait être le dénier romain de l'an 80 av. J.-C., sur l'avvers duquel se trouve Diane (elle est rendue aussi sur le médaillon). Sur le côté de sud-ouest, deux murailles bornaient l'escalier d'accès, faite en dalles de calcaire, aboutissant peut-être devant la plate-forme du haut de la muraille qui soutenait la terrasse.

La dernière phase de la construction est représentée par un temple à laquelle on y a mis au jour sept plinthes de calcaire «enfouies dans une fondation faite de cailloux reliés avec de l'argile». Les plinthes ont 1,30 m de diamètre et 20-25 cm d'épaisseur. Une plate-forme (2 m de

large, 0,60 m au-dessus du temple) commence dans la partie NE – elle représentait peut-être l'entrée dans le temple.

Parallèlement au bâtiment présenté ci-dessus, mais plus haut, se trouvait un autre temple formé d'alignements de colonnes – cette fois-ci il s'agit de trois rangées, six colonnes chacune (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1952, p. 287-288; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1961, p. 302; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 198, p. 63-65). Le diamètre des plinthes mesure 1,27 m. Le temple est orienté nord-est – sud-ouest.

Plus loin, après un terrain vague, relativement grand, servant probablement aux cérémonies/rituels imposés par la religion et à des réunions à caractère politique, se trouvent, groupés, les quatre autres temples: deux circulaires et quatre quadrilatères en andésite, les deux derniers dans la partie nord de la terrasse. Mais, avant d'arriver à ces bâtiments, on voit *Le soleil d'andésite*, en réalité, un autel fait d'andésite (**Fig. 1/1-2**).

Ce monument (Daicoviciu C. et collab., 1961, p. 303-304; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1962, p. 466-467; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1973, p. 62-62, Iaroslavschi, 1994, p. 49-53) est élevé en andésite et calcaire et consiste en un support fait de blocs de calcaire, la première rangée mise à la rencontre du disque central avec les bouts des rayons d'andésite, le second, à l'extrémité des rayons d'andésite. Le diamètre total de l'autel était de 6,98 m, l'épaisseur du pavage, 0,30 m. Il se compose d'un disque central au diamètre de 1,46 m et d'une dizaine de rayons, 2,76 m de long; la largeur des rayons est inégale, les variations atteignent 6-8 cm. A 0,45 m de la bordure des rayons, se trouvent des creux rectangulaires de 10,5-11,5x5,6-8cm, 3-4 cm de profondeur; la distance entre deux creux pareils est de 15-18 cm. Dans certains de ces creux on a trouvé les débris de pièces en marbre en forme de la lettre T. Dans l'un des rayons, on avait fait un orifice par lequel les liquides du disque coulaient dans une bassine à bec, et d'ici, dans le canal de drainage. Très près du côté extérieur de l'autel il y avait un rayon long (« flèche ») fait en blocs de calcaire et orientée vers le nord.

Connu dans la littérature de spécialité sous le nom de «grand sanctuaire circulaire», le monument est en fait un temple formé de trois pièces (**Fig. 1/3**): le diamètre du bâtiment, 29,40 m (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 113-117; Daicoviciu C. et collab., 1952, p. 283-286; Daicoviciu H., Glodariu 1976, p. 75; Glodariu 1976, p. 253-254; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1983, p. 233). A l'extérieur il y a un cercle formé de 104 blocs d'andésite posés l'un à côté de l'autre. Très près de cette rangée de blocs, se trouve un deuxième cercle de poteaux d'andésite (10-12 cm plus hauts), groupés six plus étroits et un plus large, ce qui se répète 30 fois, les poteaux étroits aboutissant probablement dans la partie supérieure par des goujons quadrilatères. Le côté extérieur des poteaux est légèrement convexe et la distance entre deux poteaux consécutifs est de 12-13 cm. Les deux chambres sont marquées par les fosses des poteaux en bois.

A 3,65 m du cercle formé de poteaux d'andésite se trouve le cercle formé de 84 poteaux de bois, situés à 35-40 cm l'un de l'autre, chacun sur un bloc de calcaire. Au centre, délimitant une chambre absidale, se trouve une île de 34 poteaux de bois. A l'est du bâtiment, à 1,20 m distance du cercle extérieur de cailloux, la plate-forme qui marque l'entrée. Faite en blocs de calcaire, comme le mur d'enceinte, la plate-forme a le côté de 1,50 m. La chambre circulaire était prévue de quatre entrées, marquées par des seuils de calcaire, deux sur le même axe, tandis que l'accès dans la chambre absidale se faisait par deux ouvertures, marquées elles-aussi par des seuils faits de blocs de calcaire. Dans la chambre circulaire, près d'une entrée, il y avait un foyer rectangulaire, en galets ronds, dont le liant est l'argile jaune, avec croûte (dimensions : 1,50 x 1,35 m). De gros clous d'un certain type forment le mobilier. La construction se date au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et fut démolie en l'an 106. A deux mètres, en-dessous de ce niveau, on a trouvé les

débris d'une construction plus ancienne, datée vers la fin du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. – commencement du I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C.

Le second temple circulaire (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 117; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1953, p. 283; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1961, p. 303) a 12,5 m de diamètre et consiste en 114 poteaux d'andésite dont 101 sont minces et hauts, et 13 courts et larges, la distance entre les poteaux, 10 cm. Les poteaux sont groupés de la façon suivante: 11 fois, 8 hauts et un court, une fois, 7 hauts et un court, une fois, six courts et un haut. Des traces de fosses pour les poteaux sont apparues à l'intérieur du cercle sans pouvoir établir s'ils délimitaient une autre chambre (si oui, quelle sorte de chambre) et un foyer avec une couche de brûlure et charbon, 7-8 cm d'épais. L'entrée dans le sanctuaire se faisait sur une plate-forme orientée NE-SO, à côté de l'édifice. Le plancher était en argile tassée. Une construction a superposé le temple et a détruit les possibles vestiges de l'intérieur.

Le temple quadrilatère d'andésite (**Fig. 2/4**) (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 117; Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1952, p. 287) se trouve au nord du «grand sanctuaire circulaire». Les dimensions du bâtiment sont: 12 x 9,20 m, et l'orientation, vers NE-SO. Il consiste en un enclos de poteaux d'andésite, environ 0,62 m de hauteur conservée, enfouis dans la terre à 0,20 m de profondeur. Un poteau d'andésite, plus gros se trouvait aux quatre coins, tandis que dedans, il y avait trois rangées, chacune avec six poteaux ronds d'andésite, bien enfouis dans la terre (0,70-0,72 cm de diamètre), assis sur une fondation tout comme les bâtiments présentés ci-dessus. L'entrée se faisait par le coin de sud-ouest où il existait une plate-forme formée de blocs de calcaire (orientée nord-sud).

A côté de ce bâtiment se trouve un second temple quadrilatère en andésite (Daicoviciu C. et collab. 1951, p. 118), ayant à l'intérieur des éléments autant circulaires que rectangulaires. Il est délimité par des poteaux d'andésite et il est orienté NE-SO.

Ce type de monument soulève toute une série de questions auxquelles, malheureusement, nous n'avons pas encore trouvé de réponse. Il y existe plusieurs aspects. Premièrement, ce sont les questions concernant tous les temples, quels qu'en soient les matériaux et la forme. En deuxième lieu, ce sont les problèmes que les temples dressés en pierre soulèvent en général et ceux quadrilatères, en particulier.

On ne saurait pas parler d'une diffusion uniforme des temples quadrilatères et circulaires – les plus nombreux sont dans la zone de la capitale du Royaume dace, ensuite quelques-uns à Augustin et un seul à Pecica, Brad, peut-être Barboși et Dolinean.

Dans la capitale du Royaume dace, la XI-e terrasse de la zone sacrée avait probablement un rôle double: lieu de cérémonies religieuses mais aussi de réunions politiques, surtout que les sources littéraires relèvent du lien étroit entre l'acte politique et la vie religieuse. A Brad et Pecica également, la place en face du temple aurait pu jouer le même rôle double.

Il est bien possible que la zone religieuse ait servi pour les réunions politiques puisque, croyons-nous, les décisions plus importantes devaient avoir une justification religieuse. Le politique est justifié par le religieux et non seulement au niveau royal. C'est bien dans ce contexte qu'il faudrait inclure les informations transmises par certains auteurs antiques comme Iordanes (Iordanes, 71-72): «Décénée ...a commandé non seulement le menu peuple, mais aussi les rois» ou Strabon (VII, 3,5) «Zalmoxis rencontrait rarement les gens du dehors, outre le roi et ses domestiques. Le roi travaillait de concert avec lui, car il voyait bien que les gens étaient devenus beaucoup plus obéissants qu'auparavant. Car les sujets croyaient qu'il (le roi) commande d'après les conseils des dieux. Cette coutume a continué jusqu'à nos jours, car il y avait toujours quelqu'un qui donne des conseils au roi...» (nous y voyons que l'autorité du

commandant augmentait au moment où on croyait que ses décisions étaient légitimées par la divinité).

Dans le monde celtique aussi les magistrats étaient nommés sous la direction des prêtres, ce qui conférait une dimension sacrée à cet acte politique. Le lieu de réunion, théâtre de toutes les cérémonies, était en toute évidence un lieu sacré suffisamment étendu pour accueillir un grand nombre d'hommes. Les textes ne mentionnent pas directement le sanctuaire dans l'oppida, mais des lieux de réunion à caractère politique et religieux (Fichtl et alii 2000, p. 180).

Les monuments dressés en pierre se groupent dans la zone de la capitale Sarmizegetusa Regia – Costești – Cetățuia, Costești – Blidaru, Fetele Albe, Piatra Roșie, Bănița, Căpâlna, Piatra Craivii. Cette réalité est due au fait que les bâtisseurs grecs avaient probablement élevé ces bâtiments sur commande royale. On rencontre aussi des temples en pierre à Racoș (centre politique et religieux important) et Bâta Doamnei.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les temples de la zone de Sarmizegetusa ont maintes fois été pris comme exemple pour définir un espace à valence culturelle. Néanmoins, ceux-ci ne semblent pas être une manifestation caractéristique, car ils s'encadrent dans une période assez restreinte (l'existence du Royaume dace), se trouvent dans un petit nombre de localités, ne sont pas répandus d'une manière homogène.

S'il existe des temples circulaires, en tant que bâtiments à abside (l'une des composantes des temples circulaires avec un plan complexe) faits dans un autre matériau et dans une période plus étendue de temps, ceux quadrilatères n'apparaissent que dans la période du Royaume dace et sont en pierre – l'existence d'un temple quadrilatère à Barboși est mise en doute (Sîrbu 2006a, p. 31).

Certains auteurs considèrent que ces temples situés dans le voisinage des cités daces suggèrent le fait que l'on y accomplissait, de préférence, des processions et rituels guerriers, ce qui témoigne du lien étroit entre les élites militaires et celles religieuses (Sîrbu 2006a, p. 31-32; Sîrbu 2006b, p. 38-39).

Il faut mentionner que, dans l'établissement ouvert de Fetele Albe, il y a des éléments qui suggéreraient la présence au moins d'un temple quadrilatère.

Nous pourrions affirmer que ce type de temple (élevé en pierre) représente, pour le monde dace, une exception car ils apparaissent seulement dans quelques endroits et sur une certaine période de temps. Cependant, il vaudrait peut-être mieux établir comment on est arrivé à dresser ce type de bâtiment ? Quel a été le rôle de ces formes impressionnantes de manifestation du sacré ?

Pourrait-il s'agir d'une manifestation du pouvoir royal qui marque ainsi la sphère d'influence ? Les découvertes de Bâta Doamnei semblent suggérer des liens plus étroits avec l'espace intracarpatique que ce qu'on trouve dans le reste de la Moldavie.

A partir des données archéologiques, on se pose la question si un texte de Iordanes (Iordanes, 71-72) n'indiquerait pas justement ce changement, cette naissance d'un type de construction sacrée en liaison avec les changements déterminés par la création du Royaume dace et d'une autorité autant religieuse que politique. «Car alors il a choisi les hommes les plus braves et les plus sages auxquels il a enseigné la théologie, a conseillé d'honorer certaines divinités et sanctuaires, tout en les faisant prêtres et leur a donné le nom de pilleati puisque, je pense, ils faisaient des sacrifices, la tête couverte d'une tiare, que nous appelons d'un autre nom pilleus».

Les rapports étroits entre le politique et la religion sont attestés tout le long de l'existence du Royaume dace; ce que nous ne savons pas c'est si la fonction de Grand Prêtre était séparée de celle de roi, une fois que les descendants de Burebista les avaient fait fusionner (Glodariu

2001, p. 777-778). Il est bien possible que les deux fonctions aient fusionné non seulement au plus haut niveau, c'est-à-dire grand prêtre – roi, mais les prêtres de tout niveau se soient impliqués dans la vie politique et militaire.

Pour ce qui est de ces temples quadrilatères, tel qu'ils sont publiés au moins dans la littérature de spécialité, une particularité supplémentaire se fait voir: en général, ces temples sont dressés sur une terrasse où, en dehors du bâtiment proprement-dit, il n'y a pas d'espace qui permettent de faire des cérémonies. Il n'existe pas non plus, de traces de place ou d'autel. Alors, on se pose la question: où les cérémonies avaient-elles lieu, car parfois la sortie du temple marquait justement le bout de la terrasse.

Cela veut souligner encore une fois le rôle particulier que ces temples avaient. D'autre part, malgré que les archéologues n'aient pas encore trouvé le lieu des cérémonies, il doit avoir existé ailleurs (?)

L'absence du mobilier a constitué pour maints auteurs l'un des critères pour déterminer le type d'un bâtiment. Vu que le mobilier manque dans les temples des Monts Orăștici, on a considéré que c'était une caractéristique d'une construction sacrée. Néanmoins, divers objets étaient déposés dans les temples; en témoignent les gros clous d'une certaine forme découverts en grand nombre à Sarmizegetusa Regia, ainsi que la poutre avec de gros clous y enfoncés, trouvée dans le temple circulaire complexe d'Augustin; il en résulte qu'on accrochait les offrandes à ces gros clous enfoncés dans les parties boisées du temple. Les plus récentes fouilles archéologiques de Piatra Craivii et Brad ont mis au jour de nombreuses et variées pièces de mobilier qui pourraient en être des exceptions.

Piatra Craivii est la seule zone où il y ait des temples en pierre avec un mobilier abondant.

Nombre de pièces de mobilier furent trouvées dans le temple découvert en 2006 sur la terrasse «Bănuțului» (Moga *et alii* 2007, p. 141) (même si l'on tient compte du fait que seulement une petite partie du bâtiment a été fouillée, la zone correspondant à deux plinthes de calcaire) consistant en une grande quantité de céramique, (pouvant être complétée, pour la plupart), sur le niveau des deux plinthes, objets de parure: huit fibules en fer, bronze et argent, grès en pierre, fusaioles, moulin en fragments, monnaie républicaine d'argent datée en 42-41 av. J.-C., importations romaines (fragment de l'attache d'une *situla* Eggers 18), pièces d'armement (pointes de flèche). Mentionnons qu'il n'y a aucune trace d'incendie ou de destruction intentionnelle de ce temple. Un mobilier abondant est signalé également dans les temples antérieurement découverts à Piatra Craivii (en particulier celui de la V-e terrasse où l'on a trouvé aussi cinq fosses à restes de céréales, dépôts de vases, y compris de la céramique peinte, objets en bronze, os d'animaux).

L'absence, et non pas la présence du mobilier dans certains temple, est inhabituelle et exige une explication, puisque dans le monde antique indo-européen, on accomplissait des sacrifices au bénéfice d'une divinité et les objets consacrés trouvaient leur place dans le temple. Les fosses (*favissae*) de Piatra Craivii, V-e terrasse viennent compléter l'image des objets déposés dans les temples.

Les Romains ont systématiquement démolit les temples des Monts Șurcanu, aussi est-il naturel que les objets trouvés dedans fussent emportés comme butin. D'autres chercheurs sont d'avis que les Daces eux-mêmes auraient emporté les pièces des temples et les auraient cachées pour que les ennemis ne les trouvent pas. En fait, les chercheurs acceptent une de ces deux variantes (autant valables), et toutefois, ils conditionnent la fonctionnalité de temple d'un bâtiment par le manque du mobilier. Le temple de Piatra Craivii (et même celui de Brad)

témoigne du fait que les objets déposés dans les temples n'ont été ni gardés, ni cachés par les Daces, mais ils sont restés sur place.

Vu l'importance de la religion dans le monde des Géo-Daces, donc des bâtiments y liés, il serait difficile à expliquer la démolition des temples par eux-mêmes (parfois, ils ont bâti, à la place de la construction sacrée, des immeubles laïques – Piatra Roșie, sans avoir pour autant sauvé les pièces appartenant à la construction sacrée), la réutilisation des matériaux à des buts profanes – Costești - Cetățuie, Căpâlna. Si pour ces deux derniers, le geste s'explique par le désespoir de l'ultime résistance, nous aurions du mal à faire la même chose pour Piatra Roșie où ils ont pu se permettre d'abandonner le temple et ses éléments d'architecture.

Certains ont justifié cet ultime geste par le désespoir, mais alors, même si la fameuse résistance des Daces s'explique inclusivement d'une manière religieuse, serait-il naturel de croire qu'ils avaient «profané» des objets ayant appartenu à la maison des dieux ? Il aurait été plus normal de désirer obtenir l'aide divine ce qui ne pourrait pas s'accomplir par la «profanation» de sa maison.

Une possible explication de la démolition des temples par les Romains serait la grande résistance que les Daces ont manifestée et alors les Romains ont voulu punir leurs dieux. Il serait alors encore plus difficile à expliquer pourquoi les Daces avaient réutilisé les pièces composantes des temples à des buts profanes.

Encore plus, à Sarmizegetusa Regia, on a trouvé une série de blocs taillés sur les six côtés, enfouis par les Daces mêmes dans la zone sacrée après avoir désaffecté le bâtiment qu'ils composaient, même si certains de ces blocs étaient dans un état assez bon pour pouvoir servir à d'autres constructions. Ce geste s'explique par le désir des Daces de les protéger, et ils les ont enterrés dans la zone sacrée pour en prévenir la profanation, tout comme les objets *sacralisés* des temples étaient déposés dans les *favisae* (Gheorghiu 2006, p. 127-137).

De toute façon, la naissance du Royaume dace s'accompagne de changements dans le plan religieux aussi. L'une des manifestations matérielles des changements rappelés ci-dessus est l'apparition des bâtiments sacrés imposants. Un tel effort constructif devait avoir eu maintes motivations, pour l'autorité religieuse et politique. Les ressources matérielles des rois étaient suffisantes pour qu'ils fassent venir des bâtisseurs grecs qui mettent en œuvre leur programme architectural et refléter de la sorte, la force politique et militaire de ces élites.

La zone sacrée de Sarmizegetusa Regia détenait un important rôle politique, celui d'épater, d'accentuer de cette manière aussi l'autorité du roi/grand prêtre – à un moment donné, sept temples y étaient en fonction (on devrait les regarder comme un complexe).

A Sarmizegetusa Regia la capitale s'est développée à partir (autour) de la zone sacrée. Au début, c'était un centre religieux, ensuite politique et, finalement, économique. Les vestiges les plus anciens sont dans la zone sacrée, sinon même au centre de l'établissement.

Pendant toute la période d'existence du royaume dace, on atteste l'étroite liaison entre le politique et le religieux, mais on ne saurait pas si et quand la fonction de grand prêtre avait été séparée de celle de roi.

Il se peut bien que les temples en pierre, en particulier ceux quadrilatères, signalassent la présence de l'autorité royale, reconnussent celle-ci ou, au moins, l'autorité religieuse dont le centre se trouvait dans les Monts Șurșanu.

Mentionnons également le fait que les temples sont les seules constructions en pierre, à côté de celles militaires (partiellement, à l'exception des quelques tours-demeures).

La plupart de ces temples ont eu une fin tragique, car les Romains vainqueurs les ont systématiquement démolis et le clergé, anéanti. Cette intolérance, si peu spécifique aux

Romains, s'explique par le rôle que la religion et la hiérarchie sacerdotale ont eu dans la résistance devant les armées romaines.

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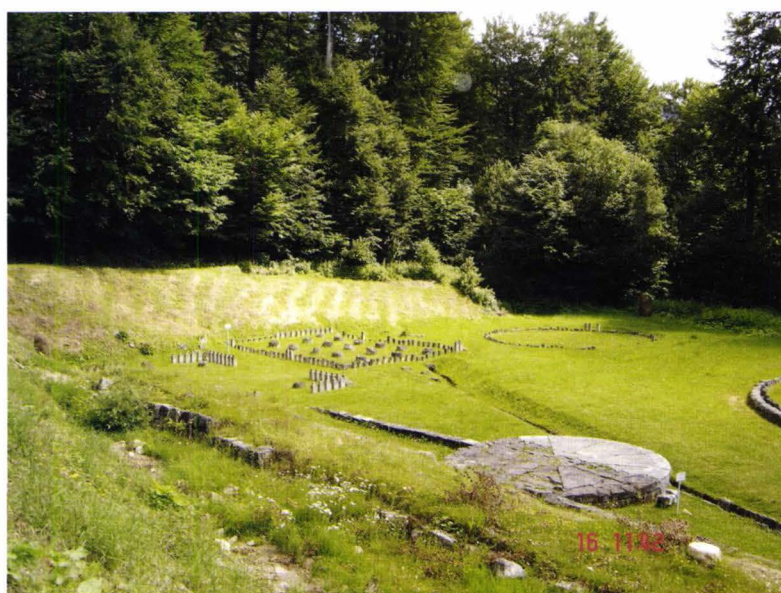
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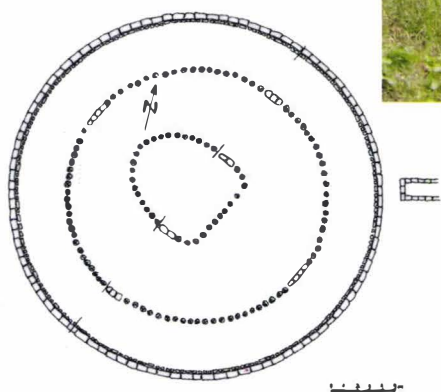
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Fig. 1. 1 Image de la zone sacrée de Sarmizegetusa Regia (autel, canal, mur d'appui sur la X-e terrasse); 2. Image de la zonesacrée de Sarmizegetusa Regia;
3. Plan du temple circulaire complexe de Sarmizegetusa Regia.



4



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Fig. 2. 4. Image d'un temple quadrilatere d'andesite de Sarmizegetusa Regia
5. Image d'un temple quadrilatere de Costești

THE PANDACIANS RELIGIOUS CENTER ON AUGUSTIN-TIPIA ORMENIȘULUI

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Key-words: Dacians, sanctuaries, inventory, religious function.

Tipia Ormenișului is a hill with a height of 755,9m from sea-level and a relative height of almost 200 m, placed on the left side of the river Olt, in its defile through the Perșani Mountains, between the actual cities Augustin (upper-course) and Mateiaș.

The settlements and monuments from Tipia Ormenișului took the attention of the antiquity lovers and archeologists since the XVIII-th century first, during topographic measures for realising correct maps of the whole region and also the whole Transsylvania. The first „archeological” diggings were made in 1863 by Wilhelm Hausmann, from Brașov, who made them be known in the weekly paper „Kronstädter Zeitung” nr.197 from 12-th December 1864. It followed the researches by Orban Balazs who included them in the wellknown monography of the Secui-province in Transsylvania (Balazs 1866, p. 294 and next).

The rediscovery of the settlement took place in the year 1979 after a stroll of the author together with dr. I. I. Pop, followed one year later by an other research together with I.Glodariu. Actually, the archeological research can be considered as being finished even if it could extend only on one third of the sit's surface in the uncovered places. The researchs' results were subject of numerous studies, articles and repertoires and monography.

Tipia Ormenișului, a Peceneg-Cumano toponimy, began to be sparsely populated in the period of translation to the Bronze-Age (Coțofeni-culture). An also sparsely population was proved in middle- and end- Bronze Age (Wietenberg culture, Costea 2007, p. 153-154 and Pl. II-VII). A more intensive population took place in the first Iron Age (Ursuțiu 2007, p. 155-160 and Pl. VIII-XXXIII). The apology of population and human activity was reached during the Dacian *Latène*. The Dacians settlement character is at the beginning a civil and strategic one and becomes during Burebista's mastery a spiritual character without losing the military-strategic attributes (Costea 2007, *passim*).

The first structural transformation took place during the first phase of Dacian living (Costea 2007, p. 161 and next), in the first half of the IInd century BC, when the dwellings, datable in the centuries V-II and those from the first Iron Age, were compromised. It weren't found fortification marks. Instead, in those times began the first important fitting out of the terraces. In this phase, the total length of the terraces from the south side of the hill was of almost 800m and they were 10m large, maybe excepting the terrace I which always was bigger than the others.

In the 1st century BC, more probably a little bit before it's middle, on the Tipia Ormenișului took place large edilatar works, so that, the hill becomes the look held till the roman conquest.

Due the efforts made, the length of the resulted plateau reached 93-94 m and his breadth 22 m (in antiquity) and 33 m. For its obtaining it was dislocated and reused a quantity of

approximately 2350 m³ stone and earth. In the plateau's inside were arranged three platforms, each for a building and only for build them up: one for the sanctuary with limestone plints (28 x 13 m), the second for the sanctuary with vulcano tufa plints (23 x 10 m) and the last (but first in chronological order) for the rectangular sanctuary with continuous stone alignment (minimum 11 x 10 m).

We have to precise that the only buildings which weren't build up on special platforms are the „Barrack” and the stone tower in its neighbourhood, both having a foundation, constructive incorporated into the pavement and the precincts substructure.

As we could see, from the description deprive regarding to the fortification elements. The explication is the fact that they don't exist, nor the terrace walls or those which delimit and sustain the plateau's structures having such a role. The defending of the whole buildings assembly from Tipia Ormenișului was assured by the other fortifications in the defile. More than that, during the state, it wasn't put the problem of an attack against the religious centres, and we also couldn't speak about a threat from the inside. That is why we think that the similitude to *Sarmizegetusa Regia* is not fortuitous.

Complex circular sanctuary on southern terraces (Fig. 2)

Al already known, archeological research on Tipia Ormenișului revealed religious buildings as well, both circular and rectangular (with alignments). The first category, but the complex type, includes the sanctuary already published and known to be located on *Terrace III* (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40). In the years following its publication, discoveries were made on the terraces upstream-downstream, which allowed toning the ensemble's image and its correct positioning.

During campaigns of 2004-2005, and other years through frequent examinations in seasons with no vegetation, it could be stated that the *extra muros* sanctuary on Tipia Ormenișului expands to *Terraces II* and *V*, not only on *Terrace III*. However the proper construction is not on Terrace IV, but its circular-arc'd foundation that extends from the upper terrace. This foundation is 5.5-m high on its diameter line, as compared to the pavement of *Terrace V*, and its building method strictly observes the technique for terracing and arranging the fortress' precincts: alternating layers of stone and earth, but to be noticed that some boulders are in fact real leveled blocks with sides exceeding 50 cm.

The monument consists of three "concentric" constructions: an exterior one, apparently circular, another circular one inside it, and an apse one inside the latter divided into two rooms. In order to follow the description track easier, the first one will be referred as exterior construction, the next one as intermediate construction and the latter as interior construction.

Today, the *exterior construction*, apparently circular as already mentioned, has 19,20-19,30-m diameter. A series of limestone and ophiolite slabs, slightly leveled, mark its path. Seldom is the sequence doubled and when it is, it is made of smaller slabs. This succession is not followed in the eastern and partially in the northern and north – north-western areas. The slabs had been displayed directly on the earth-clay mixture in the upper part of the terrace. The distance between this series (measured from its internal edge) and the slab external part in the intermediate construction is 0.80-1.20 m. Such a variation is due to partial sliding of the terrace filling, which engaged the slabs, and to derangements subsequent to sanctuary destruction. Carefully observed, the series of slabs, reminds of a polygon whose sides seem to have been around 3.50 m long. Many of these slabs had burning trails on their upper part – more rarely coal -, this leading to the conclusion that they supported a wooden structure and were intened to interpose between this structure and the ground.

A circle of leveled white tufa blocks, displayed in circular arc, mark the *intermediate construction*, with 16.50-16.60 m diameter. The blocks, 13-16 cm tall, are carefully leveled on their internal, upper and external sides. The first and the latter display a 2 cm prominence towards the base and from this point down the leveling is not as careful. As a consequence, this border indicates the stepping level, doubtless fact thanks to the floor preserved within the space stretching to the exterior construction slab row. Block length and width are partly different. 0.84 x 0.20; 0.90 x 0.23; 0.64 x 0.21; 0.57 x 0.21; 0.53 x 0.20 (broken on its length); 0.49 x 0.21; 0.45 x 0.21; 0.57 x 0.20; 0.55 x 0.21 m.

Therefore we notice that block height is usually 0.20 x 0.21 m (only one 0.23 for a bordered block) and length is completely different. Such differences in length have their explanation in the extremely friable white tufa of the leveling. A single case recorded a leveling carelessness, and other two presented deliberate hammering on the upper side of the blocks (5), the last one during destruction of the sanctury or subsequently

It is difficult to assume if the tufa circle was broken off or not for an entrance, due to its incomplete preservation. Nevertheless this entrance was not absolutely necessary given the block's small height. Definitely these friable rock blocks did not have the strength to support any wooden superstructure.

The interior construction is located out of centre within the intermediate one. It includes two rooms, a 7 x 6.59 m rectangular one, the other one with apse; internal gap between dividing wall and apse maximum curving has 2.30 m.

Limestone and ophiolite slabs are also at the bottom of the construction walls, but larger and more carefully carved; some have even regular shapes. They too had been directly laid on the clay layer in the floor upper part. Carbonized remainders of two circular poles were found in the east and south corners of the rectangular room; another pole in the dividing wall and other ones with 3-4 cm diameter were in the dividing wall clay. The latter was preserved with 0.7 m length and 0.20-0.23 m width.

The fact that it had been built out of clay set on a fir-tree picket structure is certain. Its 1 mm smoothing coat was preserved only on the side viewing the rectangular room.

Interior construction had external wooden walls glued together with a thick layer of clay. Their collapse to the inside and outside of the construction led to a considerable conglomeration of burnt sticking paste and coal. Room floor, preserved with strong burns on some areas, consisted of carefully smoothed clay.

The rectangular room had two entrances, both set on the long sides, one starting from the east corner, the other one from the south corner. Their width could not be measured, but they were determined upon discovering three and two hinges in this area, some of them having even the anchorage nails, as well as a bolt.

The dividing wall between the rectangular and the apse rooms had also an opening marked with a fir-tree beam threshold, preserved however only on 0.31 m, so that width cannot be established. In any case, the opening was set right in the middle of the dividing wall. Lack of hinges, present in the other two cases, raises the question if the opening had a door or not. We tend to believe it did not.

Next to the middle wall, but inside the rectangular room, were discovered remains of a carbonized fir-tree beam with swan-headed bolts stuck in it. We will get back to these pieces.

Regarding the apse-designed room, the wooden wall supporting itself on the curved stone base was very likely similar to polygon edges as long as there are no traces of vertical poles found.

The conclusion that the building had a roof derives from the power of the fire that had burnt the entire construction, from significant burnt areas not only inside the sanctuary, but outside it, from the clay-glued wooden walls of the interior construction and from the clay floor of all „rooms”. Very likely, this cover must have been shingle made and protected the whole edifice.

The sanctuary inventory (ceramics, building material and two fragmentary fibulas) characterizes late *Latène* Age, especially 1st century AD. Even so it does not allow establishing the edifice's functional duration but throughout 1st BC – 1st AD centuries. However, given the destruction and the fire this edifice had endured, the hammering of some tufa blocks in the intermediate construction, as well as the disappearance of the other construction in the fortress and its surrounding area during the fire, the end of the building may have come from wars in the beginning of 2nd century AD. However we are not able to settle how many years ago it was built.

Returning to the evidence its research offered regarding the propose of its component construction, we believe that the exterior one was a roofed porch, without full walls. Horizontal beams had been laid on base stones, with vertical poles stuck in them in order to support roof borders and rafters that intersected on the rooftop (Glodariu 1983, fig. 8/2-5). The intermediate construction of shaped tufa blocks could not have had walls, and tufa border could only work for delimiting the sacred area, probably forbidding acces of laymen. The only full wall construction (without excluding window offcuts) was the interior one. The rectangular room was used for keeping thank-offerings hung on bolts or lying on the floor in clay pots. Collar pots with their typical lack of bottom, that no one found a convincing acceptable explanation for, are connected too with still unknown ritual services. Finally here as in other locations, the apse, with no inventory, might have been the real sacred place, set aside for a much worshiped unknown divinity, without involving an actual statue representing this divinity.

As for the divinities worshiped in their special circular sanctuary, and their praying ritual, no certain facts can be stated (Costea 2002, p. 35 and next).

Sanctuary with column foundation of volcano tufa (Fig. 1/2; 3-4)

In spite of the archeologists endeavor, materialized in a lot of terrains research and tests practiced outside the castle, its localisation took place 5 years after discovering the first plints. The discovery took place at the 18-th July 1989, when on the southern terraces between the hill's foot and Pârâul Racilor (Tipici), point known by the natives from Augustin and Racoș also under the naming “La Comoară”, were identified four such pieces.

Plinth no. 1, cone frustum-shaped, with lower large basis: $D_b=60$ cm, $D_s=50/54$ cm, $H=40$ cm; plinth no. 2, cone frustum-shaped yet octagonal, apparently unfinished: $D_b=58$ cm, $D_s=54$ cm, $H=30$ cm, with breakings on basis. Unrotten leaves lay under it; plinth no. 3 almost semi preserved: $D_b=60$ cm, $D_s=55$ cm, $H=48$ cm (slightly deteriorated basis); plint no. 4, almost semi preserved too: $D_b=70$ cm, $D_s=60$ cm, $H=32$ cm (Costea 2006, p. 182; Costea 2007, p. 86).

Subsequently on the north east hill-slope debris 7 more column bases were found, together with a plate similar to the previous one, but broken. Unfortunately three of them disappeared during research campaigns in 2001-2002 (Costea 2006, p. 182; Costea 2007, p. 86).

The sanctuary was located only during the 1994 campaign (fig. 3/2-3; fig. 5-first phase; fig. 6-second phase and A platform), when research on the precincts north-westward end began, with a decisive confirmation in 2003. In 1994 seven limestone and ophiolite circles were revealed, with pieces of broken plint on them, disposed four by four and three by three on two rows, at approximately equal distance. In 2003, when the last three trees in the area went down,

a full plint (the only one) and half of another one were found *in situ* (Costea 2006, p. 182; 2007, p. 87).

As previously mentioned, the sanctuary is located on the plateau side towards Racoș (NW), in the corner between walls facing *Terrace I* and north-western precipice. The area of the future edifice was set with considerable effort that actually involved the whole precincts area: lower parts (southern) were erected with local clay-glued stone carried from other places and not from the area between the sanctuary and the north-eastern precipice since other constructions could be found there. Materials were set down directly upon one Dacian inhabitation level and the Hallstatt one, as the area included dwellings from both ages. Resulting surface was not covered in clay or wooden floor, both capable of leaving archeological marks if present, thus raising doubts over man's presence in this area. This situation is far from unique as a striking analogy is the much larger sanctuary with 60 column bases on *Terrace XI* at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Crișan 1975, p. 389 and next).

Sanctuary position was well bordered from other edifices in the precincts: its area shapes a rectangle with stepping level lower by 1-1.20 m than north-west neighbouring constructions and south-westward platform containing the sanctuary with limestone column bases, separated through a "threshold" of boulders, as well as limestone and ophiolite slabs, shaped on the visible area. Actually this threshold stands for the end of a platform stretching from here to the gate accessing the plateau. It lies 24 m away from the north-western precincts extremity, similar to sanctuary length.

Remnants of broken column bases, including their supporting circles had been set in long rows parallel to the precincts wall facing the terraces, and short rows perpendicular to the plateau. Plint arrangement is as simple as practical. Once created, the white limestone and ophiolite pavement had implanted stone infrastructures that ended on their upper part (visible nowadays but not in the ancient times) with the above-mentioned props made of naturally flat stones or flattened those times, lower slanting towards the center. In the middle of the alveolar construction, earth had been added as to allow perfect upper part evening, without having the plint in contact with the stones underneath. The currently visible side of the alveolus was rising 10-12 cm from the ground.

The first transversal (short) row is only 0.50 m away from the wall at the end of the fortress, whereas the long row is a little further than the wall towards *Terrace I* (south), almost 1 m (Costea 2006, p. 183; 2007, p. 88).

Most certainly all column bases had been constructed within the quarry and not inside or near the fortress. However we do not know exactly which of the existing quarries is involved, either from the ones on the right bank of river Olt, or from its left bank (one near Mateiaș town, active till modern times, which is the most likely possibility).

When publishing this sanctuary in German (Costea, Bălos, Scurtu 2004, p. 321 and next) we did not find useful categorizing the plinths according to dimensions and we did not sustain the possibility of two or more sanctuaries. Meanwhile, after discovering another plinth with a 70 cm large basis we decided to take this possibility into account. Also more numeric facts underwent changes: a maximum 70 cm basis diameter is no longer unique (one item is even 80 cm long), measured on two pieces with height variation added up between 22 and 48 cm, unlike the previously measured 28 and 42 cm. Upper diameter varies somewhere between 52 and 60 cm. If height is not a conclusive issue when stating whether plinths originate from two sanctuaries, due to the above-mentioned thicker or thinner slab adjustments, diameter variation seems like a strong line of reasoning. Nothing leaves out the possibility that the edifice might have experienced two building stages and, implicitly, two functioning stages, but with no

evidence explaining the reason and moment when the first construction had been destroyed and re-built (anyway, sometime between Burebista's reign and the Roman conquest). Even if on the whole, plint dimension variation stays within reasonable limits, it stands as serious indication that a sanctuary full of vulcanic tufa plints existed, with its two functioning stages. In this case, plinths with 70 cm bases or larger belong to the second phase, having the same diameter as the one's found on the spot in 2003. Actually it is a matter of "layering", with the smaller supporting circles belonging to the old monument.

Plint discovered *in situ* provided firsthand details on plinth infrastructure. Clearing a 2 x 2 m area revealed underneath a compact stone and clay foundation (not layered) with a trough on its upper side similar to its preceding ones, made of limestone and ophiolite slabs. The circular upper part of these slabs surpassed pavement level with an average of 10 cm. Plinths were laid inside the alveolus, on an earth layer, after having had its lower part (the edge) chipped off in order to fit into the cavity.

After revealing the whole ensemble, spaces of 10 broken plinths remained perfectly perceptible, as well as one full plint and one half. This image guides us to concluding that we are talking about an edifice with three plinths on its transversal row, whereas the long row could have fit 10 plinths, given the 1.80 interspace. It is very likely that the long alignment may have had only 6 column bases since the construction resembles the "small sanctuary" on *Terrace XI* at Grădiștea Muncelului, with the only difference that the latter is made of limestone (Ferenczi 1973, p. 63-65; Iaroslavschi 1985-1986, p. 453; Daicoviciu 1972, p. 209; Crișan 1975, p. 209; Moga 1981, p. 109; 2004, p. 79-81; Antonescu 1984, p. 51; Gostar 1969, p. 33; 1971, p. 418). Under this situation, it could have been 10.80-11 m long and at least 6 m wide.

We need to mention that the above are dimensions in the last functioning stage. As stated in the beginning of our presentation of the monument, when unveiling the first supporting circles with remainders of broken plint on them, *four such similar "constructions" existed* (o.u.) on the short row. We consider this detail crucial for sustaining the idea that in phase I the sanctuary had *four* long rows with 10 plinths each: two in the 6 m space between full plint and foundation of the neighbouring circular foundation, one with full plinths, and the fourth spacing out towards the terraces, along the line of the nearby supporting circle, in the same image. Thus the platform's 24 m length that the sanctuary lies on finds its reason and logical use (Costea 2004, p. 116; Berciu 1969, p. 51; Moga 1981, p. 109), given that sanctuary in phase I has 10 x 4 plinths and dimensions of 17.50-18 m x 8.50-9 m, and sanctuary in phase II 6 x 3 plinths (Costea 2004, p. 116). Direction of sanctuary's long frontage is NW-SE, more precisely 320°.

Mobile inventory within the sanctuary is extremely poor, and the existing items are in no way connected to a civilian or ritual daily activity on that place. It may suggest that a ritually used inventory no longer existed in the last moments of armed fight, but it could have been regained and hidden hoping to re-use it after victory (or simply in order not to fall into the enemy's hands which, according to Dacian beliefs, corresponded to their defeat and humiliation of the protecting deity). If the inventory did exist, it would have been preserved in full shape since covered by the neighbouring construction walls (or at least in the area where the two plinths were found in 2003). Similarly a wooden or clay floor should have been preserved, especially archeological traces of a surrounding construction or of the erection of the sanctuary itself. None of the above was visible in any construction area (Crișan 1986, p. 186).

The few collected items were Dacian ceramic fragments coming from hand or wheel-made pots (in the last category one "graded" lip from a red ewer), Hallstatt ones, both carried along with the earth brought for leveling the last limestone layer (to be noticed that all materials

inventoried as originating from *Surface*_{1/2003} come from filling earth, with the above-mentioned items *on* the pavement).

Metal items are just as scarce: one iron clip (possibly deriving from a pre-existing house), one *lead* cast item (o.u.) that we could not relate to any of the Dacian artifacts or ingots, probably meant for a future alloy for another use, and one fragmentary bronze fibula. Only the last item is relevant to dating the construction. It is about the spring of a scaly flattened fibula, with longitudinal channeling in the middle, found on the pavement right near the full plinth. This fibula belongs to Aurel Rustoiu's *Type 4 (Orlea-Maglavir)* and it sets a perfect analogy at Kostolač. This type is dated particularly in the first half of the 1st century B.D., in a relative chronology as "the link between *B2-C Latène*-type items and rhombic-shielded fibulas". Fortunately the fibula on Tipia Ormenișului allows dating back to the beginning of the sanctuary sometime during Burebista's mastery. Its ceasing to function is tightly connected to the Romans conquering Dacia, following its irreparable destruction in the sixth and seventh decades of the 20th century.

The sanctuary with limestone columns basement (Fig. 1/3; 5-6)

This sanctuary was built up between the castle's gate and the sanctuary with vulcano tufa plints, a place which occupies 28 m from the plateau's length (fig. 1/3; fig. 5-second phase; fig. 6-last phase and B platform).

Interesting was the plints arrangement, operation which adopted solutions due the conditions offered by the infrastructure. So, for the plint superposed the burned dwelling in *S*_{1/2004}, was made an alveolar foundation of big limestone block bound together with clay, with a breadth (height) of 35 cm and a diameter of 1,25 m.

The foundation has an alveolar shape also on the upper side, the slope to its center being created by in angle settling the limestone slabs. Their unburied ends constituting themselves a "plint", a few cm higher than the surrounding pavement. In the upper alveola was again put earth in which the plint was "thrust". This term is completely justified because, such as in case of tufa plints, the limestone plints had the inferior edge processed in such way in an angle that assures the assembly with the support. Identical shape and dimensions had the neighbored plint's foundation, situated to the terrace also in the perimeter of the dwelling, but it is a little bit higher (40 cm).

This alveolar stone foundations are characteristic only for the sanctuaries from Tipia Ormenișului, substructions made of stone and earth, inclusive (but occurrence) with their breadth, were long time ago known in more places, often retaining the similitude with the sanctuary V from Grădiștea Muncelului (Crișan 1986, p. 189). Instead, on the plints planted in places in which the organizing of the platform was made by overcovering lays of stone and clay, the alveolar substructure becomes useless, from its anatomy remaining only the concavity in which the plint was settled (ring basement).

The first arrangement with plints and plint supports is situated 20 m from the north-western wall of the barrack and 9 m (in the same direction) from the gate.

In this case, the sanctuary occupied only the part of the plateau lifted with local stone and earth. In the same time the surface made of leveled stone was destined to the communication between the long extremities of the precincts. So we have a first plan with 6 X 4 plints, with the long front on direction NE-SW (50°) arranged between the precincts wall on the south side and the row of grintstone slabs found in more sections, arranged also on direction NW-SE.

This version, even if it is not totally sustained with construction elements, can not be taken out of discussion. Considering it as a only limestone sanctuary will be in contradiction with at least three realities over which we can't trespass: the stone box and plint supports from *S*_{1711/1999},

the “unlined-up” supports from S_{III-VIII}2001 and the presence of double circle-supports, from which one of them (the older ones) penetrate below the split plints which naturally belong to a recent phase; in this way is explained the distance of 2,40 m between two plints. In this situation, the sanctuary, in the first phase reconstructible as a plan, with a distance of 2,40 m between plints on the short row and 1,90 m on the long row, orientated NE–SW, had approximate the dimension of 13 x 9 m. Afterwards the platform was brightened with almost 3 m and prolonged to NW with 10 m, to permit the augmented construction’s arrangement, which this time has the long front on direction NW–SE (320°), with 10 x 6 plints, with analogy in the andesit sanctuary on the Terrace X from Grădiştea Muncelului (Teodorescu 1929, p. 281; Daicoviciu 1972, p. 206, 210; Crişan 1986, p. 188).

Its dimensions of approximate 22 x 11,50–12 m are harmonious put into the platform of 28 x 13 m between the gate and the sanctuary with tufa plints, between *Terrace I* and the often mentioned gritstone slabs row. Very important is the fact that the first row of six plints to SE (gate) in old shape remained on place, in both phases; the new long rows (second phase) starting from here to NW till the vulcano tufa sanctuary, “framing” the stone box, prove in this sense being the plint supports in its proximity. In this phase, the distance between the plints on the long row extended to 2,70 m. The space between the new sanctuary and the basalt plints in proximity of the precipice held its destination had during the sanctuary with 6 x 4 plints, namely the communication between the same extremities of the plateau. The distance between the plints on the short row remains the same as in the first phase.

So as just affirmed, the only plint row which remained on place in both versions is the one from SE (gate) with six pieces. So it can be affirmed that in the first reconstructible phase, the sanctuary had 7 x 6 or 6 x 6 plints on row similar to the alignments III and IV from Costeşti (Daicoviciu 1972, *apud* Teodorescu, loc. cit). This version is really luring and must not be let apart, even if it can not be sustained by indoubtable arguments. We precise that in that case a number of plint supports (five or six on a surface of 150 m²) remain outside the sanctuary’s plans. It’s possible that, the circle supports below the actual plints belong to this, situation in which the row on direction NE–SW moves 5-7° to N. So we can speak about at least three phases of the sanctuary with limestone alignments. The oldest can be impossible reconstructed, situation in which reconstructible become those from phase II and III.

An unusual presence in the sanctuary’s architecture in the last phase is the stone box at the north-west end, situated at half distance of the edifies breadth. Situated at a distance of 3,85 m to the platforms edge, the “cist” is made of limestone slabs with edges smaller than 40 cm. Probably rectangular in antiquity, the box has now the shape of letter “U”, with opening to the terraces. It was build simultaneously with the platform’s pavement arrangement, the slabs being 23 cm implanted in this (depth measured in its interior). The superior quote of the kerbs is 13–15 cm higher than the pavement. It has dimensions: 1,15 x 0,85 m.

In the given situation we are inclined to believe that this stone box can be considered a sanctuary’s piece and, probably, the “storehouse” of the offerings brought to the beloved God.

Improbable is the using of the box as a support or “storage” of the “carved face” of the protector God, literary unattested practice. This practice wasn’t even archeological attested in the Dacian-Getics sancturies, in contrary to the situation from Celtic and Germanic world (Pârvan 1926, p. 722; Eliade 1980, p. 31-80; 1986, p. 136; Berciu 1970, p. 189).

The nearest analogy, inclusiv the rituals, we see in the “stone mass” with dimensions 2,15 x 1,15 m from the center of the Dacian circular sanctuary from Fetele Albe, even if Hadrian Daicoviciu didn’t propose any utility of this. A remembering of the image from there, doubled by the careful reading of the affirmation: “exception makes only a limestone slab, settled in

stripe, 51 cm long and 7 cm thick, which closes to WNW the stone surface. The connect between this slab and the stone mass is not singular because they are departed by an empty space of approximate 40 cm" (Daicoviciu 1972a, p. 69; Daicoviciu, Glodariu 1969, p. 165; Glodariu 1995, p. 119-134).

It is to presume that in both phases the sanctuary was dedicated to the same God, whose name we don't know but who demands sacrifices. This affirmation can be argued by the iron hooks discovered on the pavement in the sections from the year 2003, pieces which have analogies also in other cult houses (Daicoviciu 1954, pl. X/5, 17; Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979).

Surprising, as in the case of the vulcano tufa sanctuary, is the absence of any archeological marks, which could sustain the existence of a perimeter building or belonging the edifice itself, with or without roof.

Instead, another archeological reality is considered rare: during the daily used hand made vessels, only a few and belonging to the older living level, split on place or gained to piles before arrangement of the precincts are found only below the last stone layer of the pavement, exactly on the surface of the sanctuary from the last phase, were thousands of fragments of wheel made vessels, from their repertoire practical not missing any, in household used, vessel or luxury pot. The unusual appears in, at least two details, both with same importance: "their seeding" exclusively inside the sanctuaries perimeter and their total framing into the household inventory, but not in the ritual one. We think that we have to do with a ritual burning and splitting by the Dacians, action known and practiced also by the Celts. A convincing example is offered, to give only one example, by the sanctuary from Lebenice, in Central Moravia (Rybova, Bohumil 1962, cf. Berciu 1970, p. 205; W. Krämer 1966, p. 111). The affiliation of the vessels to the category excludes the possibility that in them were burned offerings. Plausible seems to be also their bringing in the sanctuary with that the pieces will be protected by the same Gods. But this action is excluded by the reality: everywhere the Dacians emptied the sanctuaries of any inventory which could fall in the enemies hands and also the fact that the vessels were brought split, situation in which we can not speak about their physical saving. All the ceramic types can be included in the class of "luxury vessels", which surely belong to the local magnates, priests or laymen. The act itself, the ritual of splitting, burning and spreading (or deposition) of the vessels is not unique in preroman Dacia, similar cases were known at Conțești, Cetățeni and Cârlo-mănești, precisising that there to the God were brought also other offerings (tools, jewelry a.s.o.) which don't reach in sanctuaries but in sacred places. Sometimes this function was fulfilled by the stake (in Cetățeni where the vessels remained on place) (Vulpe, Popescu 1976, p. 217-226; Babeș 1988, p. 3-32; 1977, p. 341; Crișan 1986, p. 285). Also the including of the offering vessels in the "luxury" class has analogy at Ciolăneștii din Deal, where they are deposited in a well (Petrescu-Dâmbovița 1974, p. 285-299).

The researching of the sanctuaries with plints made of vulcano tufa or limestone lead us to the conclusion that all were functioning at the same time in the greatest part of this period. We can not estimate the anteriority of one of them. The conclusions detached from the research workings from Grădiștea Muncelului, in sense that the sanctuaries with limestone plints preceded those with plints made of vulcano tufa, we don't think to be obligatory valuable also for Tipia Ormenișului. Contrary, the raising of the precincts with over 1 m, during the building of the limestone sanctuary, comparative to the quote of the neighbouring pavement of the sanctuary with vulcano tufa plints, makes plausible the posteriority of the first. An explication can be the fact that, unlike the Orăștie mountains and not only, tufa was for the Racoș Dacians a local material, common and permanently reachable. From here it was spread to the most places of Dacia, first for the manufacturing of grinders unfailing in Dacian householding.

Unlike the situation in other Dacian settlements, the beginning of both the sanctuaries from Tipia Ormenișului, can be relatively dated with the help of the discovered broaches, characteristic for the middle of the 1-st century before Christ, or, larger, during Burebista's mastery. Their end occurred simultaneous and in the same way as the other edifices, during the roman conquest, even if they knew more phases.

When they were remade and what were the reasons for their destruction during of one and a half century, we don't know, though we can not take out of discussion the "secession" of Dacia after Burebista's death or the town work during the mastery of Decebal-Diurpaneus. Very plausible is also the "demand" of this place from the position of a former „religious residence“ of a forerunner of the unifying king. But, after all, the remaking or repairing of this kind of edifices must not be differentiate from others and without fail conditioned by historical events or personalities, most of them “naturally“degraded in time, so as the civil. One and the other could have known more building phases (Glodariu 1996, p. 226-227; Crișan 1975, p. 347; 1986, p. 188). Important and defining for the general attribute of Tipia remain their functionality through 150 years, included in the unitary state or in one of the pre – or postburebista “kingdoms“ and that from topographic point of view they are situated intra muros, so as the “Alignment III“ from Costești which is *intra vallum* (Daicoviciu 1972, p. 205). In case of Tipia Ormenișului we have not a singular sanctuary but a really sacred zone, specially arranged and which occupies the greatest part of the precincts, aspect about which we will return. Till then we advance the idea that in case of Tipia Ormenișului, from a certain date, the term of a sacred precincts must not be restricted to the plateau, but to the whole hill.

Other buildings with religious function situated in the precincts

On the upper plateau are other buildings with big dimensions which belong to the class of religious buildings. The buildings are also situated at the north-western end of the plateau between the vulcano tufa sanctuary and the precipices from NW and NE. They were not identified in section III/1982 because this passed the part from which were prelevated materials for the “topographical points“ measured by the army in the sixties and seventies of the XX-th century.

Important specifications were made also in the year 2003, specifications which refer to the buildings plan and orientation and on other side their dimensions and succession.

Concluding we can say that in the 9 years of researching (it's true with interruptions) were gained enough information based on which we can sustain that the buildings function wasn't a lay one.

The complex circular sanctuary from the precincts

The best held part of this building was uncovered in the zone near the vulcano tufa sanctuary, zone which, *grosso modo*, represents approximately half of its plan (**Fig. 1/5**). Same as in case of the sanctuary from the terraces, we speak about three “concentric” buildings also conceived in descending steps from the center to the edge. The identification of the monument and the establishing of its dimensions were made based on the environing platform–pavement, on the foundation of the intermediary building and on the ruins of the “central” building.

a, The exterior “building“. We speak about a surface with the size of an arc, paved with local limestone stones with smaller dimension than the rest of the precincts, pavement from which better held are two surfaces to the terrace (S). With a lower quote, with 20–25 cm, than the slabs from the circular foundation. The pavement has now a breadth between 1,25 and 1,50 m due to the devastations. Natural should be that it has an exterior kerb, which wasn't observed, the stones situated on an adequate distance to be considered a kerb being not conclusive.

We can not exclude a kerb made of wood planks, such a building, well conserved being situated at the foot of the stone tower near the barrack. The two surfaces could be discussed as access places, unsustained assumption by a convincing argument, but which also can not be apriori refused.

Without introducing in our calculation the possible kerb, the exterior diameter of this pavement, which in fact represents the maximum built diameter, is of 14-14,50 m, with almost 5 m smaller than the one of the sanctuary from the terrace. It's very possible that it was covered by an eave, similar with that from Dolinean (Smirnova 1976, p. 309-316) or other places.

b. The *intermediary building*. Retreat to the ensemble center at a distance equal with the breadth of the environing pavement (1,25–1,50 m), the intermediary building is represented by a segment of a "circular" stone foundation. "Circular" is a generic expression, the evident movement of some stones not permitting specifications about a configuration which we see more than a polygonal one, first, because of the unusual dimensions of the building, but also through the analogy with the exterior building of the sanctuary from Terrace IV. The foundation is made of white limestone slabs whose sides rarely exceed 50 cm, arranged the most part of the route on one row, a doubling being observed only on the south-east side, without finding a plausible explanation. The slabs are put on an earth layer with a thickness required by the native rock level, the only points in which they have as support other stones being the places in which the ends of the walls of the rectangular building is covered. The foundation is kept on a length of 18,50 m, to the sanctuary with vulcano tufa plints. The sparsely presence of cole and soldering of burned wall makes a full wall less probable, plausible seems to be a row of vertical pillars made of wood planks put on slabs. It is to admit the missing of columns (pillars for a common "cupola") completely covered being only the central building, on the slabs being installed a circular or modular railing, after the model proposed by D. Antonescu (1984, p. 54); an argument in this sense can be the absence of nails and spikes. In both cases the light for the central building was assured.

The diameter of this segment of the circular foundation, deformed in time by the moving of the stones, is of approximately 13 m.

c. *Central building*. In the interior of this circular plan are found rests of a stone platform higher with 20–25 cm than the pavement of the intermediary building (Crișan 1978, p. 38). Because of the dismantling of a good part of it, in antiquity or recent, it can not be specified if we have to do with it's arrangement in the assembly's center, positioning which is not even established at the sanctuary from the terrace or at the Great Sanctuary from Grădiștea Muncelului, detail which seems not to be less important, now being known three edifices with such an "architectural vice". On this platform and around it was found an important quantity of wall soldering reddened by fire, unlike the rest of the surface, till the circular foundation, where the soldering, so as said, appear as a pigmentation.

From here was concluded that in the central part of this "complex" existed a room with trellis work elevation with a substructure which detached it, through its height, from the surrounding pavement. Unhappily, the NE side of the pavement doesn't exist anymore.

We can appreciate that the room's sides, from the platform, had a length of approximately 6,50–7 m. We think that the building's plan is rectangular, even if the kerb's edge, deteriorated in time, suggest a circular plan. We use as sustaining point some segments of foundation – alignments, from which two were observed during the 2003 campaign.

From the horizontal beams, arranged on this, rised the wood walls stucked together with clay sustaining the roof made probably of shingle.

So as precised, through S₁-1996 was established that approximately in the center of the essembly existed a fire installation very clear outlined at only 30 cm below the actual walking level. All around was found soldering of burned wall with a breadth of 35 cm in the middle, spread out on a ray over 1,25 m. Repeateangly clayed (painted) at the upper side, the hearth was arranged on a pedestal base made of limestone in the room's floor, higher than this also with 20–25 cm. It's marked by a kerb made of limestone and river stones, the last of them rare on the Tipic, not bigger than 15 cm, organized in a rectangular border with the sides of 1,30 x 1,50 m (almost identical with that from the big circular sanctuary from Grădiștea Muncelului which has 1,35–1,50 m (Daicoviciu 1972, p. 240).

Not far from the hearth, mixed with the wall burn, were found two clamps made of iron, too small to be used for the wood joining, instead good as rut and limitator for the bolt. Their discovering place doesn't represent a sign of the entrance placement (but confirm the door's presence), which we are inclined to place on the wall–line to the precincts.

A reconstruction try leads to the image of a room with entrance from the precincts (south-east), built on a platform which dominate through its height the rest of the assembly, with long walls orientated NW–SE. The light problem (so as that of the smoke evacuation) surely enjoyed a different solution than the usual dwellings, windows couldn't deprive. Constructive, the terrace sanctuary is essentially not different from the now discussed edifice, the difference being the material of which the intermediary building is realized (white, smooth, vulcano tufa) and the care with which it was finished. Actually, the most agreed expression for their similitude of the two monuments should be their assignment to the same architect.

A special attention deserves the hearth from the central room which through its incorporation in the floor, plan, building material and overrising of the kerbs in comparison with the material richness to other dwelling hearts, especially vessels, bones or other household rests.

As long as the existence of an *absid* - or an other hearth is not proved, we consider that it can represent the altar on which were made the ritual acts. This case is far to be singular, the same role being attributed to the hearth and special stone buildings recorded till now in sanctuaries, some of them mentioned in the anterior pages. The correct naming we think to be hearth-altar, similar with those from *Sarmisegetuza Regia* and *Pecica*.

Looking to the function of each compartment of the building, the difference to the sanctuary from the terraces is the presence of the hearth-altar in the edifice from the plateau, what can mean that there took place offerings which we don't know but from whose rows we can not eliminate the purification. It is possible that here were burned offerings which afterwards were deposited in other sacred buildings on the hill.

Relevant for the including in the category of religious edifices seem us from beginning and in first row the poverty of the inventory from almost the whole interior surface, evacuated before the roman attack.

The poverty or almost total absence of domestic vestiges doesn't constitute the only argument, determining the building including in the row of sanctuaries. It must be retained only as a supplementary proving founding. Decisive are the common points which the recent discovery has with the till known monuments. That's why, to sustain our affirmation we appeal to the *architectural vocabulary* general common for all sanctuaries and, because we think it is decisive, to that of the complex circular sanctuaries, leaving outside our discussion the buildings from Fețele Albe, Rudele, Pustiosu and Meleia (Glodariu 1976, p. 249), about which doesn't exist any consense but which we consider to be also sacred edifices, even if their plans are not integral coincident, not being made " after good established canons (Horedt 1973, p. 303; Babeș 1974, p. 23; Antonescu 1977, p. 90; 1978, p. 53; 1984, p. 80; Vulpe 1976, p. 101 and next). This

precising limits the number of analogies to two sanctuaries, the only known. The Great Circular Sanctuary from *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (Teodorescu 1930-1931, p. 60-62; Daicoviciu 1951, p. 113-117; 1952, p. 283-287; 1960, p. 234-252; 1972, p. 234; Crișan 1986, p. 200) and the often mentioned sanctuary from the terraces on Tipia Ormenișului (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40). How both are wellknown, we remember only the plan difference of the central buildings and the unsure existence of an *absid* in the case of the now discussed edifice, even if it had not to be excluded.

The orientation is in all three cases almost the same; NNW–SSE. Practical identical are the stone hearths, clayed on their surface, inclusive, but fortuitous, as substructure and dimensions very near (1,35 x 1,50 m at Grădiștea Muncelului 1,30 x 1,50 m at Tipia). An other common element, this time for all three, is the inexistence, or at least the unobligativity of the existence of full walls at the exterior buildings, valuable finding also for some simple circular sanctuaries (Daicoviciu, *Apulum*, 9, p. 259). Decisive are other elements, the plan's morphology, orientation of the central buildings and absence of specific lay inventory. To this we without fail must make the specification that it is hard to admit that two edifices, practical identical, situated in the same settlement, one to have religious and the other lay functions. The fact that one is extra muros and the other in the precincts (which in fact is a plateau) doesn't represent an exclusivity, the case being not singular and defining a certain quality of the hill. Affirming in an other time that we can not speak about a religious edifice but about the dwelling of a local magnate, maybe even a priest (so as we ourself affirmed before finishing the researches (Costea 2002, p. 196; 2004, p. 116) we now make the due rectification, possible at the end of the researches).

The mentioned similitudes, but specially the fact that now in Dacia are known three complex circular buildings (two of them on Tipia Ormenișului), represents another argument for including them to the sanctuaries. Also, in the given situation is also suggested the direction of sending the plan which isn't anymore certain to have is first type at Grădiștea Muncelului. The situation is perfectly included in the criterion I established by Carstens Colpe for sanctuary's considering, the repetition category (repeated types of sanctuaries) (Colpe 1970, p.18-19, *apud* Conovici, Trohani, 1988, p. 205 and note 3), so as in those which use as criteria the placement, orientation, association with other buildings or elements cult bounded (included in a sacred precincts).

The criteria, certain for Tipia Ormenișului, we think that they can be applied also to the buildings from Fețele Albe, Rudele, Melcia, Pustiosu.

A firm dating of the building is not possible, not benefiting of a help – inventory in this sense (broches, coins, a.s.o.) excepting ceramics. On this base, discovered in the upper part of the earth filling and between the stones used for terracing, and also through the “storehouse” for vessels anterior mentioned, we can say that its building beginning in the first decades of the 1-st century BC. Is the most plausible, even if some ceramic types from the “storehouse” are certainly older, considered as “Hallstatt tradition” and could lower the moment to the end of the previous century, as in Pecica (Crișan 1986, p. 106). It is possible to have suffered repeated remakings, the burnt one during the roman conquest being the last.

Other two problems seem to us to be important bound to this edifice: the placement next to the quadrilater sanctuary made of vulcano tufa (approximately 4 m) and its destroying in a moment which was not too far before the roman conquest, so as it results from the fact that the rest of the burning were not removed or covered with pavement, so as it was proceeded when the building now in discussion superposed the rectangular one. The first aspect pleads for the parallel functioning of two edifices dedicated to the same number of Gods with different

attributions. After all, the situation is not different to that from *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, specifying that their distances between sanctuaries of different types are bigger.

We think also to another explanation of its functioning parallel with the other sanctuaries: use as stake place, offerings a.s.o. for the other edifices, situation in which the discussed sanctuary could be considered as their “annex”, the example being not singular but illustrated in other cases through modest buildings, characteristic for the lay ones.

Rectangular-designed edifice on the plateau

As noticed when describing the excavations related to many sections from various years, there were discovered one full “terrace wall” and the southern segment of the circular arc shaped basis belonging to the previous sanctuary. The first element was approximately 1 m away from the central construction and the arched basis 3 m away from the southern wall of the same structure. The wall is 11 m long with estimated direction NNW-SSE (320°) similar to the long volcanic tuff plint row in the nearby sanctuary. Wall basis facing the precincts starts north-westwards from its south-eastern end, in an angle larger than 90° today, probably due to compaction throughout the years. It is currently oriented NE-SW (50°), it maintains its compactness for a 6 m length, beginning from the corner and continuing “thinner” for another 4 m. We do not know if it extended to the precipice in the ancient times or it stopped at its 10 m, since the flattened rock made any basis pointless. Disparate slabs found between this wall and the NW precipice cannot be assimilated to any plan with four well-defined walls. In this case, although the edifice was certainly large sized, we need to bear in mind only the fact that two of its sides were minimum 11 m, and 10 m long, most likely just like their “pair”.

Both wall bases are formed of white limestone slabs “sealed” with ophiolite, with the use of Dacian volcanic tuff grinder in the 11-m one. The whole 10-m segment is made of a single course set on a clay bed, while “the terrace wall” preserves from 1 to 5 slab layers. Their number is gradually increasing from the inside to the plateau edge where the first course is buried into the pavement relating to the tuff sanctuary.

Elevation and rooftop had wooden framework. Wall braiding had been clay stuffed as proven by the burnt gluing mixture preserved under the circular construction pavement.

This construction (probably in the middle, but difficult to know for sure with two walls missing) had a larger hearth than the one in the new phase, reddened on a 12 cm thickness; its finishing coat was relatively widely spread, evident in profile *S_L/1999* for almost 3 m long. It too had been set on a ring of local stone, again 20-25 cm up from the floor. Given the fact that separation is unidirectional, it is difficult to estimate if the hearth was rectangular too or it had other shape. Its dimensions are very large, never seen on any of the structures in the settlement or other sites, except for the bonfires. This indication is related to its shrine-hearth function (or bonfire), similar to the case of the circular construction on the same location.

State of inventory discovered underneath the floor reminds of the circular construction: domestic pots, although frequent in dwellings, are few and only a part of them completable, brought by too when evening out the area. Worship and valuable items are missing. Here too ceramics are the only generous dating criterion (as in Pecica or other places), very likely in the first half of the 2nd century BC. Chronologically and stratigraphically speaking, this is the first religious construction in the north-western part of the precincts that may have undergone repairs or restorations like any other building. The complex circular sanctuary had been later on erected on the same site.

From the very beginning, including the construction into the sacred edifice category appeared to be difficult, even though evidence is not lacking. The most important piece of evidence is locating it on the same side of the plateau together with two more alignment

sanctuaries and one complex circular. Given their vicinity (a sacred environment) it is very doubtful that two constructions had been set up for different purposes, civilian or military, but their position had been different and clearly defined.

Referring to the two constructions, a similar situation is identified in preroman Dacia, as to both design and their mutual correlation, and their establishment within the precincts, i.e. in *dava* at Brad (Ursachi 1995, p. 62 and pl. 351-352). Just like there, they are positioned in the north-western end of the plateau. When portraying the round sanctuary, the author of the research and monograph asserts that it meets several phases. The first phase is the compressed yellow soil platform, with 14 x 8 m sides, SSE-WNW directed, like the rectangular construction on Tipia. Over the same clay platform, right above it, the apse edifice raises up in second phase. Both structures acquire the appreciation as “the first stage in the evolution of Dacian sanctuaries from the level of *dava* dwellings” (Ursachi 1995, p. 62 and pl. 351-352). The third halidom in Brad is the simple sanctuary with an outer diameter of 16 m (Ursachi 1995, p. 62 and pl. 351-352). The construction is subsequent to the others. The context, comparable to the circumstances on Tipia Ormenișului, infers two remarks, both of them archeologically (stratigraphically) substantiated: rectangular constructions’ priority, and mainly their progression on the same site.

The above statement is just as convincing at Brad and Augustin, as the pictures indicate no architectural or useful spaces between extremities of the two types of constructions, not even for pedestrian passages. Succession of constructions, *without changing their location*, corresponds to *acknowledging* this area inside the fortress, and all inhabitants in this area and others would consider and respect it as sacred throughout its existence.

The rectangular sanctuary with volcanic tuff column bases had been built beside them later on.

Conclusions

To sum up briefly the profile of religious edifices on Tipia Ormenișului, we come to the conclusion that both categories common in archeological literature and characteristic to Geto-Dacian world meet here: *circular sanctuaries* and *alignment sanctuaries*, the latter with two types. The first type incorporates only the variant of the complex circular sanctuaries (3 “concentric” constructions), displayed on Traian’s Column (scene LXII) while the alignment type registers two variants: with column bases alignments (with volcanic tuff or white limestone plinths), exhibited too on Traian’s Column (scenes CII and CXIII), or with linear foundations and continuous walls. Two are the *complex circular sanctuaries*: one on southern terraces, the other one in the precincts. *Column bases alignment sanctuaries* are within the precincts, and each edifice (tuffa or limestone) records at least two phases. This fact raises their number to minimum four, taking into account composition alteration (for both cases) and redirecting the long frontage (in the limestone case). The alignment type, but with continuous wall basis (probably apse too), knows only one piece, under the complex circular sanctuary in the precincts. Circular sanctuaries had not perceivably undergone repairs or restorations, although likely and probably numerous in both cases.

Therefore at least four stone plint alignment sanctuaries had been built throughout the years on Tipia Ormenișului, one with continuous limestone and ophiolite wall bases, as well as two circular sanctuaries, giving the lowest total of seven pieces. It may be wrong to believe they functioned simultaneously over such a long period of time. An archeologically certifiable synchronism involves only the last phase of the stone plint sanctuaries and the complex circular ones (Costea 2007, p. 111, note 185), confirming once more Geto-Dacian people’s polytheist religion, confirmed for long time now (Russu 1944-1948; Daicoviciu 1943-1945, p. 90-94; Crișan 1986, p. 356-412). Among these edifices, only one is located *extra muros*, thus leading to

the conclusion that we are witnessing a true *sacred enclosure* on the plateau, engaging about two thirds of its length, and the entire area to the left side of the entrance, on the opposite side of the barracks.

A single community, as large and organized as it may have been would not be able to provide the required force for these works, simultaneous to bigger ones on terraces, but only state power. Building achievements recorded so far in all Dacia represent the material reflection of royal initiative together with the higher priests, as Strabo mentions (Strabon, VII, 3, 5), to institutionalize and secure a state of facts that had happened beforehand, in the 2nd century BC. Cooperation between Burebista and Deceneu required “*de jure* acknowledgement of older *de facto* realities from central religious authority” (Vulpe, Popescu 1972, p. 90; Sîrbu 1993, p. 127; 1985, p. 89 and next; Sîrbu, Rustoiu 2002, p. 42 and next; Babeş 1988, p. 3-32; Costea 2002, p. 26). It should be pointed out that spiritual transformations in the Dacian society, corresponding to religious centers, covering large areas in Dacia, are almost perfect match to other two archeologically certified historical phenomena: Celts cease to exist in Transilvania, and “the beginning of internal economic development quickly and on a large scale. Historical events in the first half of the next century are necessarily attached to this development that involves the economic support of the centralized Dacian state, structured under Burebista’s rule” (Daicoviciu 1972, p. 18; Babeş 1988; Sîrbu 2006, p. 191- 204; Costea, Crişan 2006, p. 51-75).

As already stated previously, no superstructure elements or areal constructions have been referred to for any of the tuff or limestone alignment sanctuary. Without further details, we strongly believe that halidoms on Tipia Ormenişului are not too different than the images architect Dinu Antonescu suggests for each type under investigation, considering on the one hand domestic architectural vision, and on the other hand climatic conditions in Mount Perşani, in no way milder than in Mount Orăştie (Costea 2006, *passim*; 2007, p. 57, cf. and Antonescu 1984, p. 51-89). These very climatic conditions compel us to return briefly to the issue of roofing or open air functioning in the case of alignment sanctuaries.

Both of the above-mentioned sanctuaries type preserved only their substructure and plinths to support wooden columns that, in their turn, were part of an ensemble sustaining rooftop. This situation contradicts full wall constructions, in this case barracks and circular sanctuaries, where these wall burnt down and collapsed on the spot. This situation in no way infers all year round functioning for circular sanctuaries, and for the alignment ones only summer service. Both types had elevation and rooftop, yet varying in construction process. This difference (“column forest” for alignment category, full wall for the other) made the first ones easy to dismantle and the other ones impossible to undergo the same operation. Bearing in mind that war with Traian was far from unpredictable, Dacians had the time to save religious items first, valuable objects in sanctuaries (with the unique exception of the gold ring at Pecica that may have been “lost”), and in the small round sanctuary at *Sarmizegetusa Regia* (that may have had laic role judging from the inventory found on the floor). Afterwards they proceeded to dismantling alignment sanctuaries’ elevation and burning the others, with an overall intention to save them from destruction and desecration corresponding to serious prejudice to the protective deity. Accordingly we see this type of sanctuary to have had elevation and necessarily a rooftop, yet *Dacians destroyed these constructions before initial warfare with the Romans* for all the above reasons, as dramatically engraved on the Column on its final parts appointed to the siege of *Sarmizegetusa* (Costea 2007, note 51; Glodariu, Moga 1989, p. 56). It may be a direct consequence of the treaty in 102, forcing the Dacians, among other things, to destroy their fortresses, and we have those scenes showing Dacians burning their interior monuments.

No wooden or stone floor has been archeologically detected in any of the sanctuaries, irrespective of type; their replacement was battered earth with its upper level somewhere up along the plinths' height, covering supporting alveoli in the case of rectangular rooms and stone bases in the case of the others. Such a floor necessarily demanded a rooftop as well.

We do not think that a comparison between religious monuments on Tipia Ormenișului and the ones at Grădiștea Muncelului is strictly necessary, but it can be useful as long as more and more facts substantiate the existence of several *Holy Mountains* and several unknown so far centers focusing political and spiritual authority (*supra*, note 49). Correct understanding of the significance of monuments on Tipia Ormenișului, and possible unveiling more structures in the future, just as impressive, may lead to more insightful knowledge of pre-Roman Dacia, without diminishing in any way *Sarmizegetusa Regia*'s rank of political and spiritual metropolis.

As far as the Dacian capital is concerned, the above statement is true only through state age, whereas Tipia Ormenișului experiences a longer religious phenomenon, with an older starting point. In Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului, a *pan-Dacian religious center* is born over a century before the "religious reformation" during Burebista and Deceneu (Russu, *op. cit.*; Daicoviciu 1972, p. 204 and next; Crișan 1975, p. 416; 1986, p. 345; Lica 1980, p. 177-182; Gostar, Lica 1984; Babeș 1988, loc. cit; Sîrbu 1993, *passim*; Costea 2002, p. 21-46; Vulpe, Popescu 1970, p. 90), where royalty, with the supreme priest's guidance and acceptance, merely penalizes an already spread phenomenon that both institutions have to accept, but at the same time they are interested in it and "make it legal" in order to catch followers' support. Just like Grădiștea Muncelului, on Tipia Ormenișului we are facing a focused multitude of sanctuaries, with large institutionally structured priesthood. As in *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, or at Rudele and Meleia, *The Holy Mountain* stands on considerable heights, although not necessarily in order to define it as holy. General resemblance between edifices, all lacking figure representations, treasures or offerings, allow us to unconditionally include Tipia Ormenișului into the category of the recently mentioned *pan-Dacian religious centers* (Sîrbu 2006, p. 27). As compared to the others, it is the result of generally spread rituals, acquiring recognition from an extended area, unlike the other known "monuments" (precincts, sacred area, wish wells etc.) dedicated to some restricted territories, sometimes even just local communities (Cârlomănești, Ciolăneștii din Deal etc.). Also we can come across such religious centers in the *sheepfolds* at Meleia and Rudele, in the *permanent dwellings* (o.u.) on Pustiosu and at Fetele Albe, similar in the most plan details (plus special concentration) to complex circular sanctuaries on Tipia Ormenișului (detail that raises the problem of their plan dispersion direction), as well as in the precincts and halidoms at Măgura Moigradului (Macrea, Rusu 1970, p. 201-229; Matei, Pop 2001, p. 235-277), Pietroasele-*Gruia Dării* (Dupoi, Sîrbu, 2001; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005), Sighișoara-Wietenberg (Horedt, Scraphim 1971; Sîrbu 1993, p. 98-99) and Sf. Gheorghe-*Bedeaza* (Horedt 1951, p. 7-39; Sîrbu 1993, p. 98) etc., despite the fact that the last two are different in building structure, composition and significance, like the one in Orlea (Vulpe 1976, p. 101-111; Comșa 1972, p. 65-78; Sîrbu 1993, p. 97-98; Conovici, Trohani 1988, p. 205-217; Sîrbu 1995, p. 313-330). It was mandatory for all of the above to work according to rigorous hierarchy, structured by priesthood and acknowledged by royalty, abiding Geto-Dacian polytheistic religion (Sîrbu 2004, p. 87). Among their gods, apparently Mars and God of Sun must have been primarily worshipped (Costea 2002, p. 26 and next; 2002a, p. 26-41).

As to all the above-mentioned centers, the *pan-Dacian religious center* at Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului singularizes by sheltering a considerable amount of religious edifices (seven), with only one of them outside the plateau, but within the area of the *Holy Mountain*. As appearing today, it is a creation between rules of Burebista and Diurpancus-Decebal, with the first

changing radically and irreversibly the fate of this important strategic and military settlement where a sanctuary location lived for about one hundred years, in a center of priests and militaries officially and exclusively holding the prerogatives deriving from their position, proving to have been the foundation of the state institution.

A first phase in which we can speak about the existence of religious edifices on the acropole is represented, very probable, by a wooden building, difficult to rebuild know only based on two pole ditches. It was followed by the rectangular building with continuous walls (maybe even with apsid), both placed at the NW end of the masonry and built up before Burebista's mastery, in the first half of the 2nd century BC or latest in the middle of it.

In the second phase, beginning with the first years of Burebista's mastery, was built up the initial shape, of 10 x 4 rows of the sanctuary with alignment made of volcanic tuffa plinths and one of the, in present, not reconstructable of the sanctuary with limestone plinths. It's possible that they were preceded, not knowing with how many times, by the circular sanctuary from the precincts, superposed of the rectangular building with continuous walls. Also from then, we think, is dated the „barrack” standing (maybe with some repairs) till the Roman conquest.

In the time between the masteries of Burebista and Decebal, in which the zone belonged for sure to one of the four or five „kingdoms” postburebista, we think that it was built the second phase of the sanctuary with 6 x 4 rows of limestone plinths and the complex sanctuary from the terraces, remained also in function till the Roman conquest.

A last phase of edification expressing of the Dacians in the Olt defile from Răcoșul de Jos can be represented by the sanctuary with 6 x 3 rows of volcanic tuffa plinths and by the funeral phase of 8 x 6 rows, the one with limestone plinths. Contemporaneous with them are, for sure, the two big edifices from Terrace I and, so as mentioned, the complex circular sanctuary from the southern terraces and the „barrack”. All together represents indubitable arguments about the existence on Tipic, in the last years of the Dacia, of a strong and numerous privileged category, tops of the sacerdotal and military world, representing the state's power, power then synonym with the Kingdom Dacia. The elites occupied also the two big buildings from *Terrace I*, whose inventory proved first of all the quality warriors of the native. Their placement next to sacred precincts and of the „barrack” inside the precincts, underline the natural relation between the warrior and sacerdotal elites and the „military sanctuaries”, respective with the „rectangular with column alignments” sanctuaries, which „suggest the existence of specific military beliefs and rituals”.

Certainly, the above-mentioned religious centers considered that *pan-Dacian* cannot be the only centers in the Geta-Dacian territories. New research, mainly correct and flexible interpretations, unbound to archaeological routine long ago used in other countries, can provide worthy contribution to knowing the religion of our “domestic” ancestors. For now, the existence of the ***pan-Dacian religious center*** in Augustin-Tipic Ormenișului should be kept in mind, whose spiritual influence might have extended over south-eastern Transylvania and, maybe, over a territory east from the Oriental Carpathians. Beginning approximately in the first half of the 2nd century BC, for about 150 years it played a direct role in consolidating and observing the official religion in the Dacian kingdom that completely absorbed its institution, after times of autonomous development.

Another discussion is needed for the „barrack” discovered on Tipic Ormenișului. We speak about a building absolutely identical in plan with those from Luncani-Piatra Roșie but 8 m shorter. The fact that in whole preroman Dacia are known only two buildings of this type, considered „barracks”, but which are absent from much bigger fortifications, justifies the question if their function corresponds truly to the naming given by Constantin Daicoviciu. The remark of the same scientist: „The two rooms from the middle are not deprived from a little

confort and trimming..." is equal with the improbability that they were destined to the soldiers, more natural being their living by the military heads and priests. May be not fortuitous, if the two edifices, at the time of Roman conquest, were the only important houses of food reserves and water, noticed in the archaeological diggings.

Just like the state, this religious center ceased to exist in 106 AD, as all the religious edifices here and within it or outside the borders of the future Roman Dacia; this phenomenon resembles Gallia and other provinces of the Roman Empire.

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Tipia Ormenişului - plan de situație

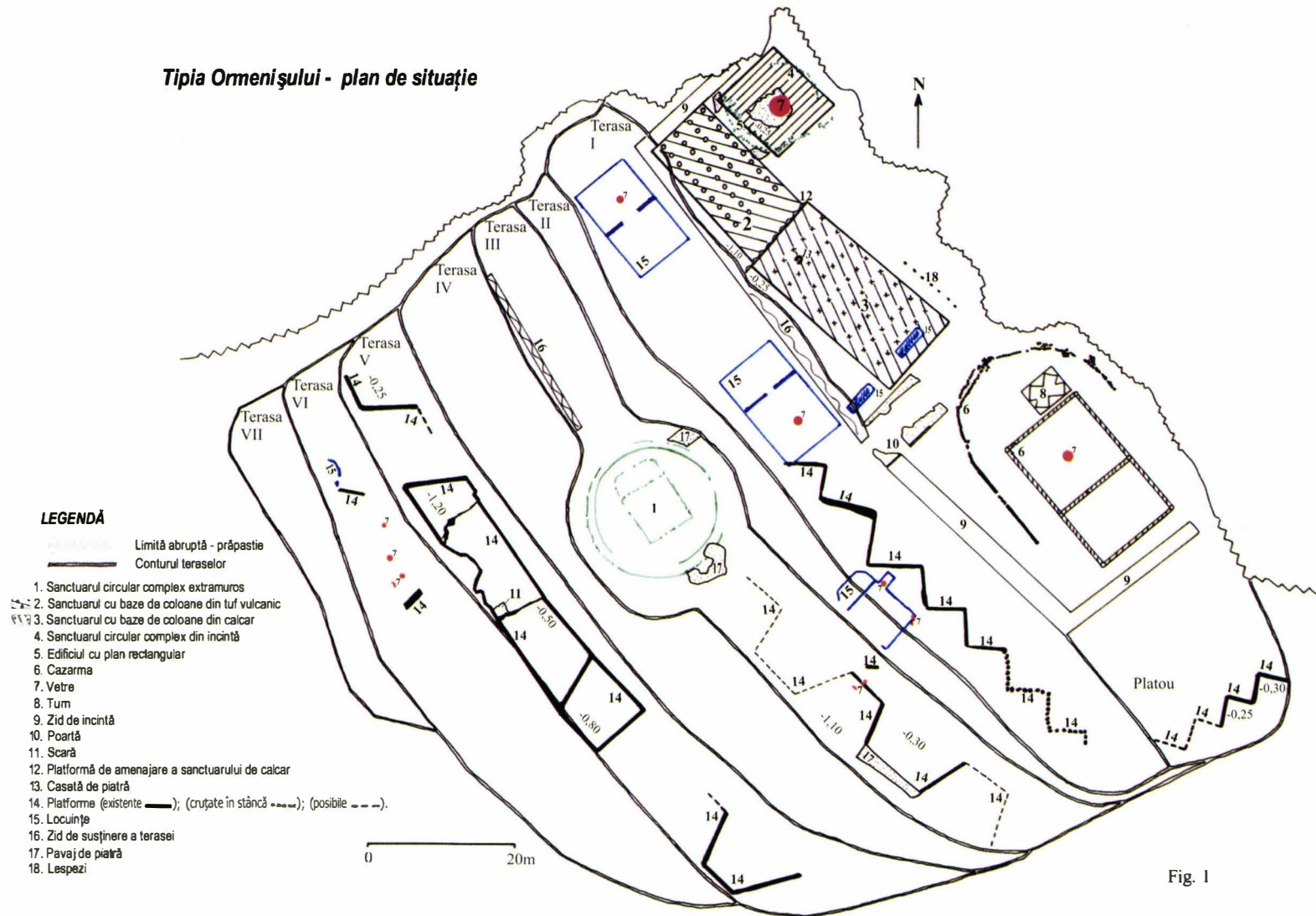


Fig. 1. Terraces organisation, the upper plateau and monument's placement (topographical lifting by Dan Ștefan, Magdalena Duțescu, Călin Constantin and Mihai Florea).

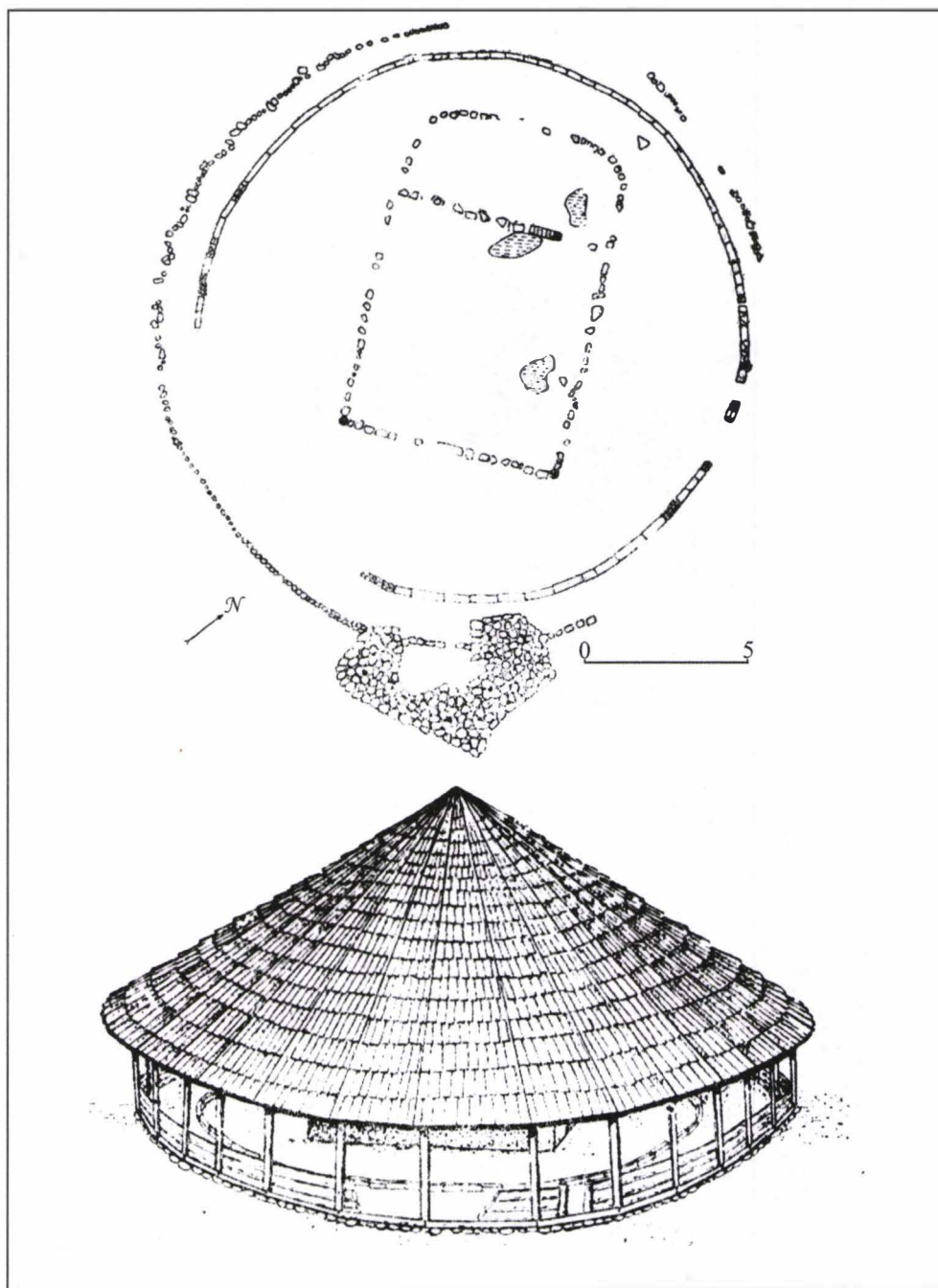


Fig. 2. The complex circular sanctuary from the southern terraces
(after I. Glodariu, Fl. Costea).

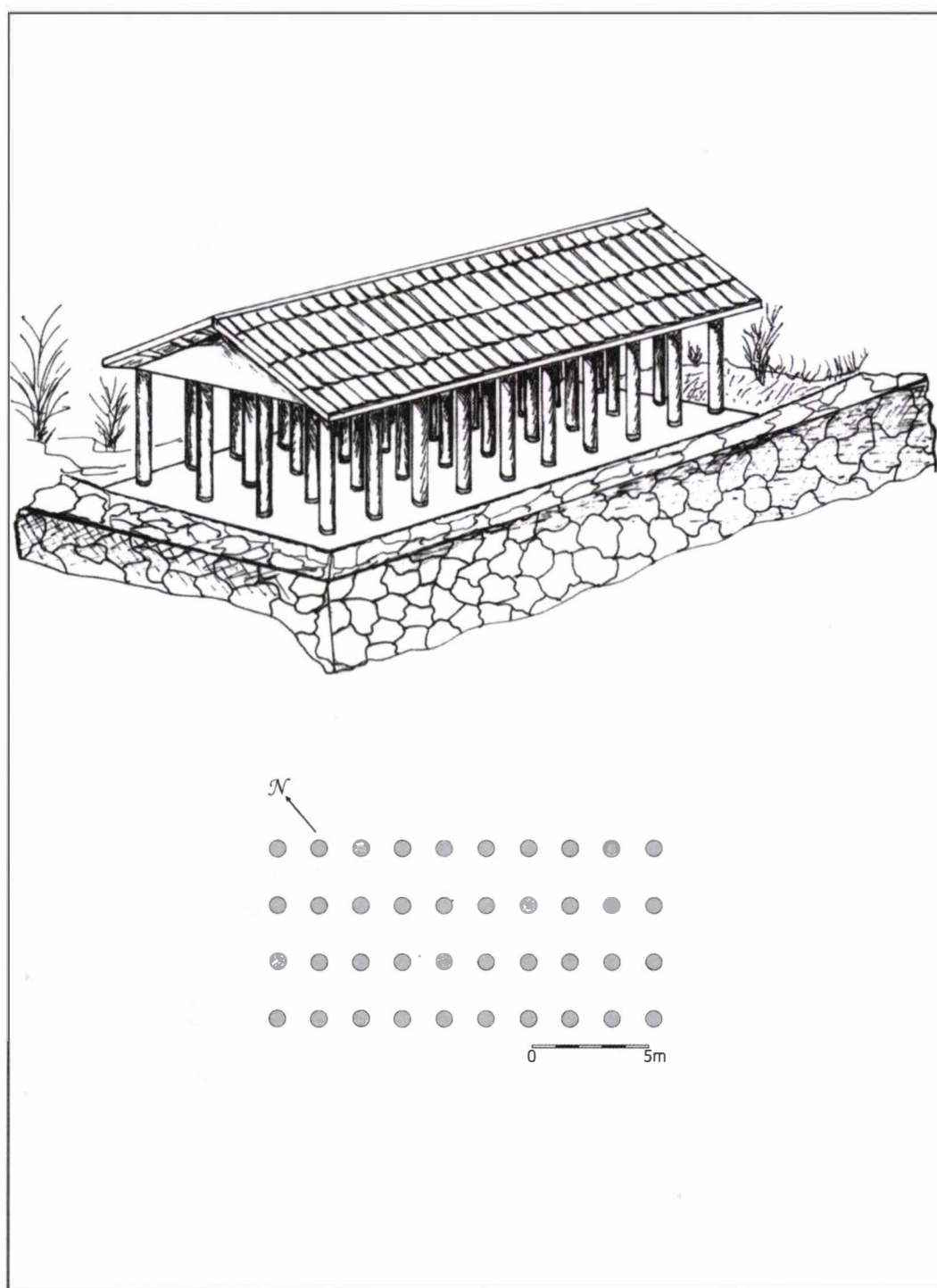


Fig. 3. Sanctuary with alignment of column base made of vulcano tufa, stage I (10 x 4 plint rows, after Fl. Costea 2007).

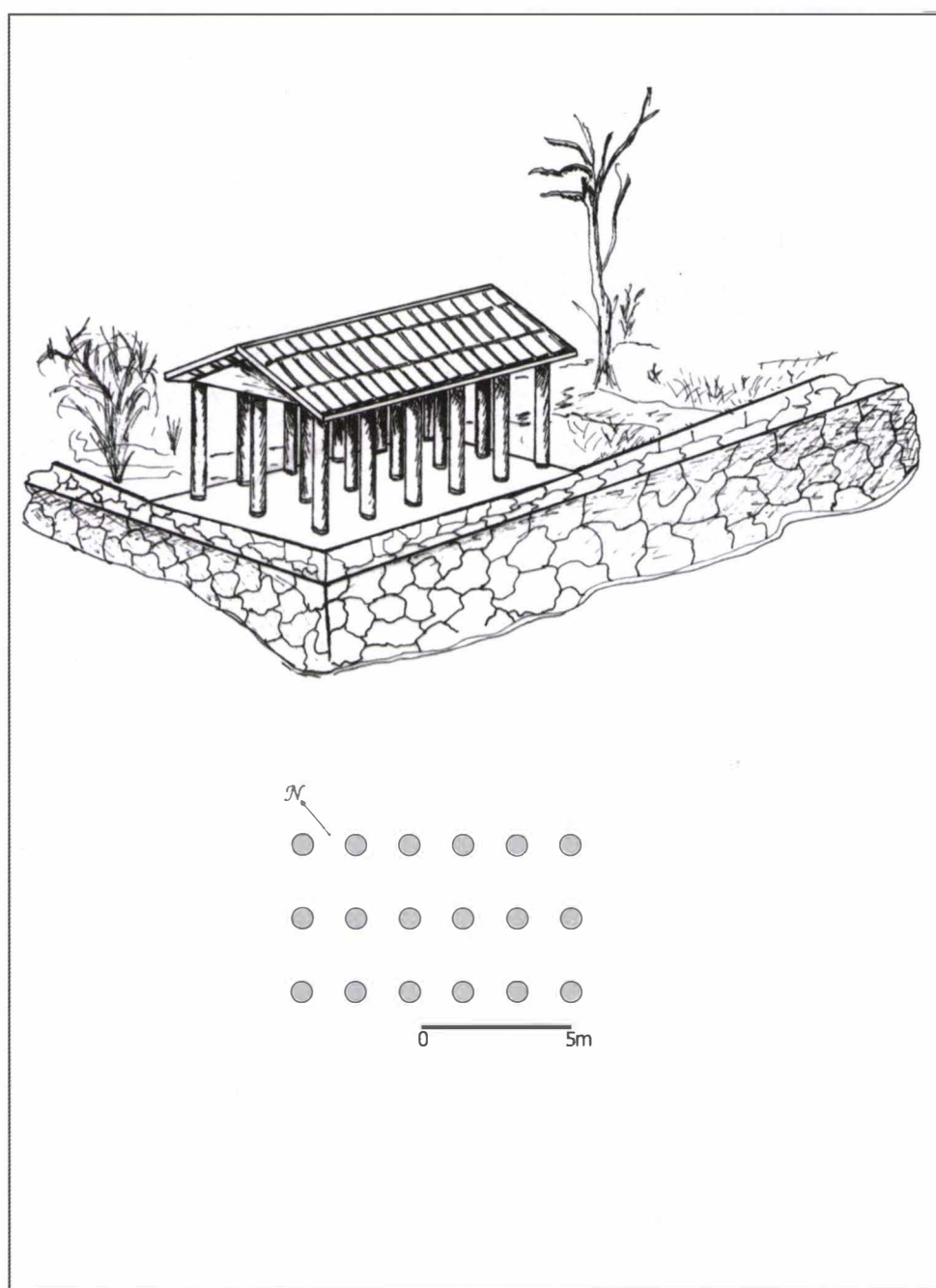


Fig. 4. Sanctuary with alignment of column base made of vulcano tufa, stage II (6 x 3 plint rows, after Fl. Costea 2007).

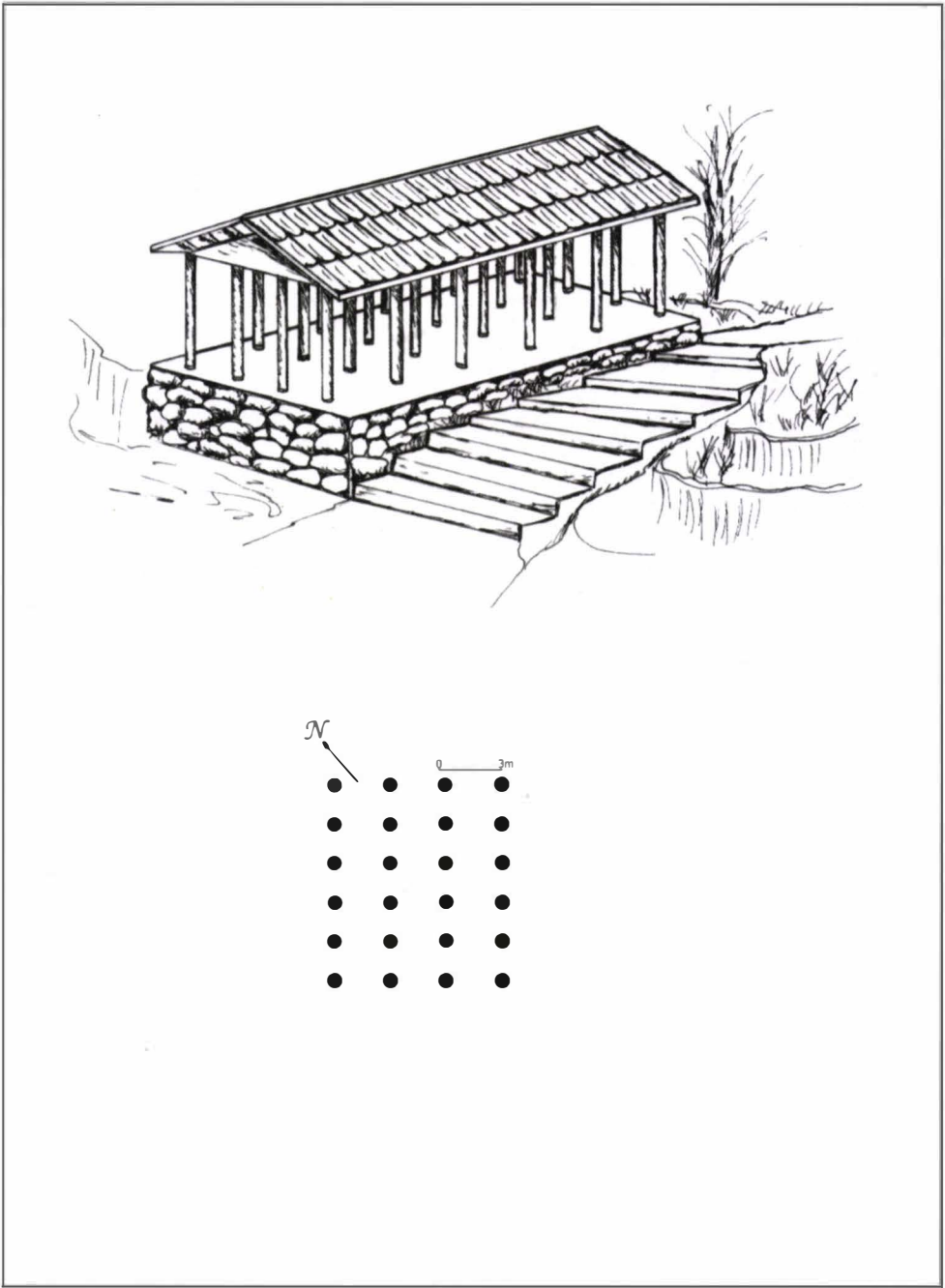


Fig. 5. Sanctuary with alignment of column base made of limestone, stage II (6 x 4 plint rows, after Fl. Costea 2007).

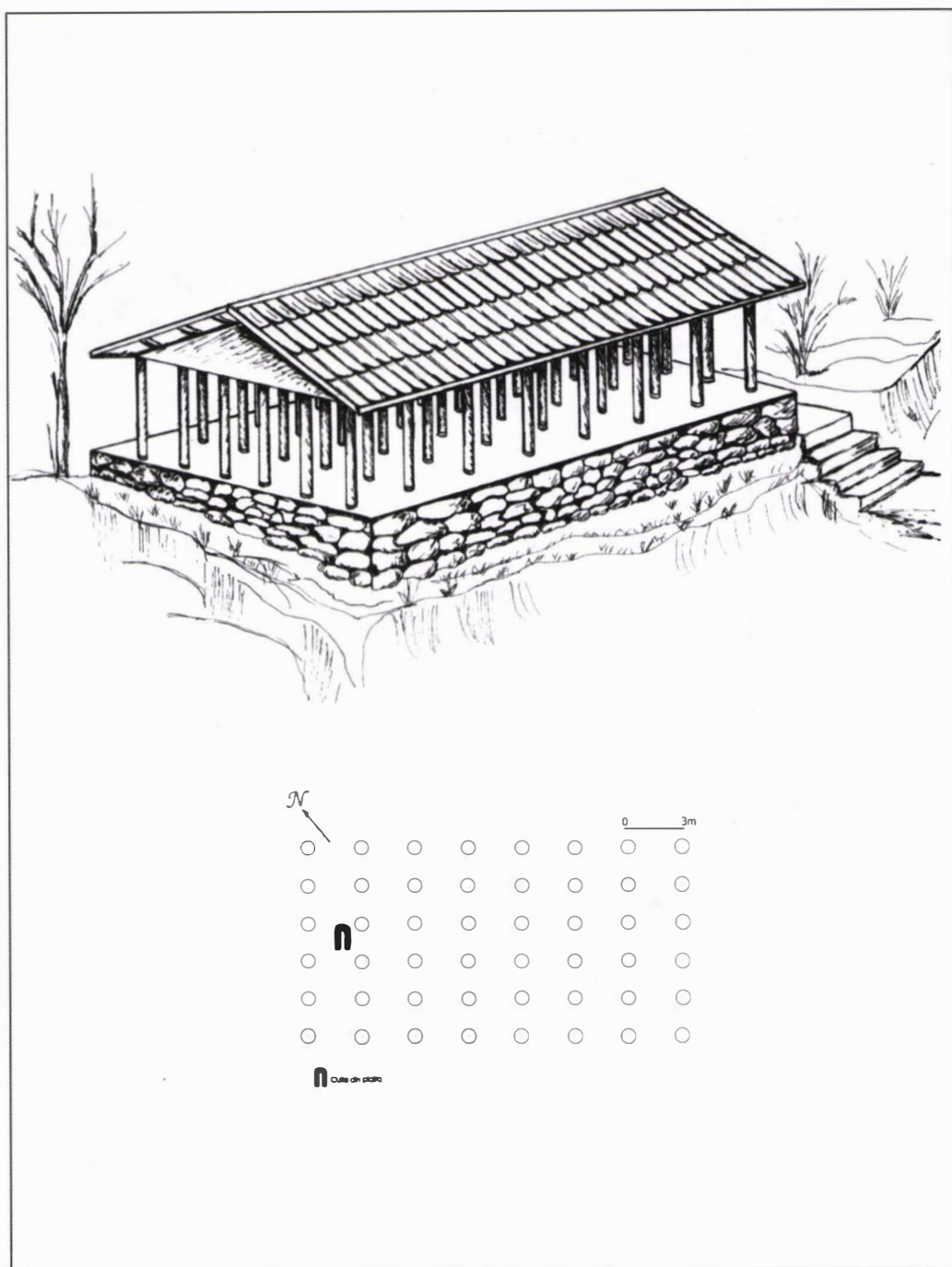


Fig. 6. Sanctuary with alignment of column base made of limestone, last stage (8 x 6 plint rows, after Fl. Costea 2007).

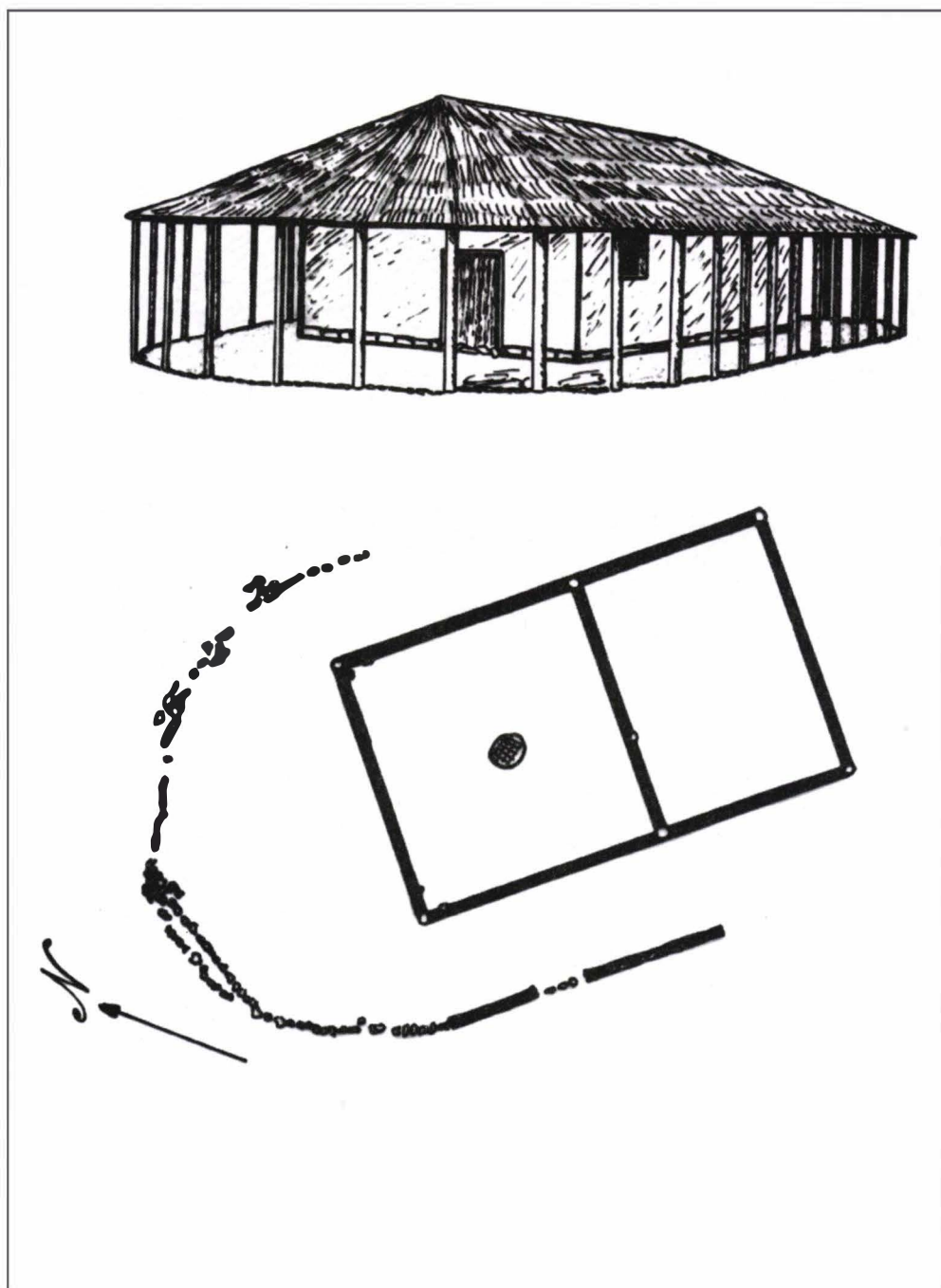


Fig. 7. „The Barrack” (after Fl. Costea 2006, 2007).

FIGURINES IN THE PRZEWORSK CULTURE FROM THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD FROM THE TERRITORY OF POLAND

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Key-words: figurines; Przeworsk culture; early Roman period; Poland; Geto-Dacian

The figural relics do not constitute frequent findings in the area of the Przeworsk culture. It may be the reason why they have not been comprehensively researched. Although they were sometimes taken into consideration, they were usually treated as a thing of minor importance in the studies devoted to other subjects (Florkiewicz 2006). Many researchers emphasise that the figural relics are not typical for the Przeworsk culture; therefore, as they suggest, such objects are imports or borrowings from the other culture circles.

So far, within the area of the Przeworsk culture from the early Roman period 10 single figurines and 2 vessels decorated with figural ornamentations which can be dated to the early Roman period, have been discovered. Additionally, these relics can be divided into two categories: anthropomorphic figurines and zoomorphic figurines (including ornitomorphic).

The findings from the burial ground in Chmielów Piaskowy and from the settlement in Wietrzno belong to the anthropomorphic figurines category. The object from Chmielów Piaskowy represents essentially the upper part of a very strongly burnt and deformed vessel in the form of a woman's figurine (**Fig. 1:1**). The head is leaning sideways as the result of the fire influence. On the „top” part of the head is the groove running around the head, which presumably is a trace of a head band or a cap. On the left side and on the back of the head the sophisticated, now very deformed hairstyle is recognizable. On the neck there is an artistic representation of the neck ring. The breasts or their remains have been preserved. The right hand, bent at the elbow, survived almost completely. There is only a trace of the left arm up to the hand. The figurine holds the pot with the two-cone belly and a curved rim with both hands. The rim served also as the outlet leading inside the anthropomorphic pot (Godłowski, Wichman 1998, p. 23, 72).

The head with the piece of the torso is almost all what has been left out of the figurine from Wietrzno. The low forehead is decorated with the row of small hollows limited by two shallow grooves, meeting on the temples (**Fig. 1:2**). The arched row of hollows is situated on the occiput and around the thick carelessly executed neck. On the occiput there are two well-marked conical bumps. Below the temple, at the handle level, the slightly protruding bump with the round hollow inside (preserved on one side only) can be seen. The similar bump was located on the other side of the figurine's head. Such a bump was broken off before the object was unearthed. On the front of the torso, below the unmarked arms there are two shallow hollows (Janowski 1959, p. 394).

The other relics are the zoomorphic representations. From among the isolated zoomorphic figurines, eight bear traces of breaking off, which may suggest that they did not represent the separate artworks, yet they might constitute a part of, for example, a vessel. The remaining figurines were undoubtedly separate artworks. The findings from the burial ground in

Jakuszowice and the burial ground in Sobocisko can be included in the same group. They are birds' representations. The figurine from Jakuszowice is not a very realistic representation (**Fig. 2:1**). However, the relic from Sobocisko was made quite carefully (**Fig. 2:2**). The figurine has the opening on the back, which probably was connected by the little channel with the second outlet on the forehead of the bird. Unfortunately, the figurine was badly damaged in the time of discovery, so its original appearance remains uncertain.

In case of the remaining relics discovered within the Przeworsk culture area, it is very probable that they were a part of the other objects. As it was mentioned above, the traces of breaking off suggest such a possibility. Some of these figurines might be a decoration of, for example, a pot, such as in the case of the artefact from Wymysłowo (**Fig. 3**). It also applies to the relics from Igołomia (**Fig. 4:1**), Opatów (**Fig. 4:2-3**) or Stobin (**Fig. 4:4**). They represent mostly unspecified four-leg animals, as well as birds. A few of these figurines could be the fragments of the lids, as in case of the relics from Chmielów Piaskowy (**Fig. 1:1**), Igołomia (**Fig. 4:1**), Opatów (**Fig. 4:2-3**), Stobin (**Fig. 4:4**) or Wietrzo (**Fig. 1:2**). R. Madyda-Legutko (1996) was the first researcher who paid attention to such possibility, and also K. Godłowski and T. Wichman (1998) took it into consideration in the monograph devoted to the burial ground in Chmielów Piaskowy. The analogies to the lids decorated with the figurines were found by the researchers in the Geto-Dacian materials (Madyda-Legutko 1996, p. 54; Godłowski, Wichman 1998, p. 72). Within the range of this culture, the artistic representation of riders as well as animals appeared (Bichir 1973, p. 154-156). For example, on the lid from Cârloaia the wolf figurine was placed (Sîrbu 1987, fig. 9:7). The interesting fact is that zoomorphic representations in the artistic form were also noticed in case of pottery, serving as handles (Bichir 1973, pl. CXXXIX:1-2, CXL:1-9; Berciu 1981, pl. 18:3, 7; 27:2).

In addition to that, the findings from Gać and Wymysłów are exceptionally interesting. In the burial ground in Gać the decorative vessel was unearthed, which probably had the shape of a standing ox with the cylindrical hole on its back (**Fig. 5:1**). Only a hole and an schematically executed ox head were preserved. The horns were damaged; the eyes were marked with two pressed points, and the muzzle is perforated in order to pour a small trickle of fluid. The clay ox head, which most probably was a part of a zoomorphic vessel, comes from the burial place in Wymysłów (**Fig. 5:2**). The head is empty inside, with the outlet at the cylindrically shaped muzzle. Two small hollows mark the eyes. The horns (one broken off) grow on the line constituting prolongation of the nape of the neck. The head is decorated with incised lines: two lines are running from the bottom of the horns through the forehead; similarly, two lines from the middle of the forehead are running to the bottom of the muzzle, on the upper part and the other two – from the horns to the muzzle on the sides. The groove is running around the bottom of the muzzle. The head is broken off at the end of the neck, in the place where probably the lower part of the vessel once was. Due to the fact that these figurines have the opening in the muzzle, it seems that they may be a part of vessels serving for drinking or pouring fluids. The heads may form the rim of the vessels. The similar vessels are known from the Geto-Dacian sites, for example in Răcău and Poiana (Sîrbu 2003, fig. 5:1, 2). They belong to the „kernos” type pottery, in the cubical form with the channel serving for pouring (Sîrbu 2003, p. 90). Although animal figurines such as those on these vessels have no outlets through which fluid could be poured, the cylindrical outlet discovered in Gać suggests the similar solutions.

The relics of the Przeworsk culture occurred also in the settlements and in the burial grounds. However, much more artefacts were discovered in the burial sites. The apparent disproportion regarding the types of figurines can be observed. Only two from ten similar relics

are anthropomorphic; the remaining eight constitutes zoomorphic representations (cattle and birds), predominantly oxen representations. There is no precise distinction between them either. In burial grounds, as well as in settlements, both types of representations are met. However, more zoomorphic figurines are found in grave complexes. Considering this fact, it is thought that the figural images were made in connection with beliefs or magical rites. It is still unclear whether it relates in any way to the degree of the figurines destruction. They might be damaged intentionally, or maybe the damages occurred as the result of the actions after their deposition.

The purpose of these objects is unknown. They are sometimes interpreted as children toys. Some of them may be the tools designed for making sound or musical instruments. The ornitomorphic figurine from the burial ground in Sobocisko (**Fig. 2:2**) may serve as an instrument – it originally could be a rattle or even a whistle. The similar assumptions could be supported by the fragmentarily preserved clay ornitomorphic figurine from Igołomia (**Fig. 4:1**). It is empty inside, with the hole situated in the tail. Its discoverer suggested that it could be a „musical instrument”. The Polish archaeologist, prof. T. Malinowski expresses the analogical assumptions regarding the ox head from the burial ground in Wymysłowo (Malinowski 1999, p. 55). However, the previous conclusions on the subject of the relic from this site now seem to be more rational.

The above-mentioned pot decorated with the figurative ornamentation originating from the burial ground in Opatów is a completely different relic. Its hand is made of clay, strongly burnt and partly deformed in the fire of funeral pyre, which makes its reconstruction considerably difficult (**Fig. 6**). Its upper part with the marked curved outside rim and the zoomorphic shaped handle has been preserved; the lower bottom of the handle was probably running to the maximum bulge of the belly, decorated with the belt of ornamentation made of the oblique grooves. The other sherd of this vessel constitutes a part of the round belly with the ribbon-like, fluted handle. In the upper part of the handle is the next area of the fragmentarily preserved ornamentation in the form of the regular circular hollows 11 mm in diameter, surrounded by incised arches (Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003, p. 210).

The artistic relics were also found in the late Roman sites of the Przeworsk culture. In the settlement in Różyce-Stara Wieś (**Fig. 7:1**) the animal figurine – a mole or a piglet – was discovered (Wiklak 1995, p. 168). In the settlement in Jakuszowice the artistic representation of a rooster (**Fig. 7:2**), probably constituting an element of the zoomorphic pitcher, wheel made, was unearthed (Rodzińska-Nowak 2003, p. 335). A very similar object (**Fig. 7:3**) comes from the burial ground in Opatów (Rodzińska-Nowak 2003, p. 336). Moreover, in the burial ground in Spicymierz (Kietlińska, Dąbrowska 1963, p. 183) the piece of the ox figurine was discovered (**Fig. 8:1**). The clay head of an ox (**Fig. 8:2**) were found in the settlement in Zofipole (Dobrzańska 2000, p. 48) and a head of horse (**Fig. 8:3**) were found in the settlement in Igołomia (Buratyński 1976, p. 105-107, fig. 16; Dobrzańska 1990¹, p. 43, pl. XXXVIII:8; 1990², p. 60, 81). The attention could be paid also to the figurine from Aleksandrowice, site 2 (**Fig. 9**), discovered in the upper part of the fill of the late Roman (Naglik 2000, p. 49; 2001, p. 321). Only the upper part of the figurine was preserved; the legs were broken off at thighs level. Its trunk and head were modelled from one piece of clay, whereas the hollows made with fingers marked the eyes, the mouth and the navel. Additionally, the navel was filled with the lump of clay. The hands were glued, and fingers and hair were schematically incised with a comb. From the area of the Przeworsk culture the handmade pottery decorated with the engraved figural motifs, both zoo- and anthropomorphic, are known (Bugaj, Makiewicz 1995). All these above-mentioned relics originate from the burial grounds. Thus, on the basis of such evidence, it is

assumed that these figural representations were probably connected with the beliefs or magical rites (Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003, p. 213; Rodzińska-Nowak 2003, p. 337). Additionally, the similar figurative motifs, also in artistic forms, were shown on the pottery from the territory of the Elbian culture circle as well as from the southern part of Scandinavia (Bugaj, Makiewicz 1995, p. 117-118; Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003, p. 213).

The representations of human figurines from the Roman times are hardly ever found in the territory of Barbaricum. Thus, searching for analogies in Geto-Dacian world, inter alia, seems to be logical. Analogies for the presented findings can be found in many sites belonging to the Geto-Dacian cultural circle. The separate artistic figurines, in addition to birds representations, show other animals, as well as more or less realistic human figurines (Vulpe 1927-1929, fig. 120:2-4; Babeş 1977, p. 336-340, fig. 11, 12; Sîrbu 1987, fig. 8, 9:4).

The anthropomorphic relics from the territory of Romania (Geto-Dacian) are made of clay more carelessly. Cuts, pressings and hollows mark the details of a human body (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 87, fig. 105; 109). In principle, the sex of the figurine was not marked. According to the Romanian researchers, all kinds of punctures and perforations on the figurines suggest the "black magic" practices (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 87).

As far as zoomorphic representations are concerned, in most cases they are difficult to identify. Although they were made more carefully, they rarely have features suggesting their genus (species), such as, for example, ox horns (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 87, fig. 106; 110).

It is interesting that in the territory of Romania figurines were discovered inside houses, close to the clay altars or hearths (fireplaces), quite often in the inventories together with the other artefacts, such as for example miniature pottery, rattles, exotic shells or tortoise carapaces (Sîrbu 1993, p. 129-175; Sîrbu 2006, p. 67, fig. 43-44). They were also found as "deposits" in clay pots and household objects. They were very rarely discovered in graves, and no figurines were registered "in situ" in the Geto-Dacian temples (Sîrbu 2006, p. 69).

In the process of dating the figurines from the territory of Romania two time horizons are taken into account. The first is the period between 13th and 5th century B.C.; currently over 300 anthropomorphic figurines and over 250 zoomorphic figurines are known. The second horizon corresponds to the period between 4th century B.C. and 1st century A.D.; more than 380 anthropomorphic and over 100 zoomorphic figurines are known from this period (Sîrbu 1993, p. 58-70; Sîrbu 2006, p. 68-69).

The figurative art was also renowned in the Sarmatian environment. During the first centuries A.D. the vessels with the zoomorphic handles appeared in the region stretching from the northern coast of the Black Sea to Central Asia (Abramova 1969; Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003, p. 214). It should be emphasised that the animal ornamentation is typical for nomadic tribes living in the Bronze Age and thereafter. Zoomorphic decoration of the Sarmatian pottery, known from 1st century B.C., probably derives from the decorative style which was originally used in ornamentation of the silver and gold products (Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003, p. 214). Thus, the round hollows surrounded by engraved arches, such as those on the pot from Opatów (**Fig. 6**), seems to be, in the opinion of the authors, the distant reference to decorations of the metal vessels known in the Caucasian and Pontic zones in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. and in the first centuries A.D. (Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003, p. 214).

As it was mentioned above, the figurative relics are not typical for the Przeworsk culture. For that reason it is interesting to consider how the findings typical for the Geto-Dacian culture – since there are most analogies – got to the inventories of the Przeworsk culture communities.

Thus, the possibility that they were imported should be taken into consideration. The attention could be paid to the fact that although such findings were present in the Dacian culture circles, they are completely unknown in the area of the Lipice culture. So far, the similar relics have not been found in the mixed Celtic-Dacian horizon in Slovakia or within the Puchowska culture area, which also possesses Dacian substratum. However, they were discovered in the stronghold in Malaja Kopanja in the Transcarpathian Ukraine (Kotigoroško 1995, p. 102, fig. 51:1), but they are mainly known from the territory of the present Romania, among others from the site in Răcățau (Sirbu 2003, fig. 7:2). A small number of zoo- and anthropomorphic figurines found in the area of the Przeworsk culture presence may attest that they were transported from the other regions as a result of trade exchange or as loots or gifts. The local imitation of the objects, which must have been known by the population of the Przeworsk culture cannot be excluded either. Due to lack of the similar findings within the Lipice culture area, it seems that this territory should be excluded as an area serving as the intermediary in transferring the similar impulses. On the map of the distribution of this kind of findings, no area can be distinguished where an accumulation of the similar relics can be noticed (**Fig. 10**). Such figurines are found in the southeastern Poland, as well as in Greater Poland and Silesia. It appears that the lack of the similar relics on the area of the Lipice culture and in the territory of Slovakia may indicate that the analogical elements were transferred into the circle of the Przeworsk culture directly, without their distinctive intermediation. Thus, the direct transfer of the similar relics from the area for which they were typical could be considered. Now, the question arises: are those figurines the evidence of the physical presence of Dacians in the Przeworsk culture area or are they only the evidence of the wide-spread influence of the Geto-Dacian culture?

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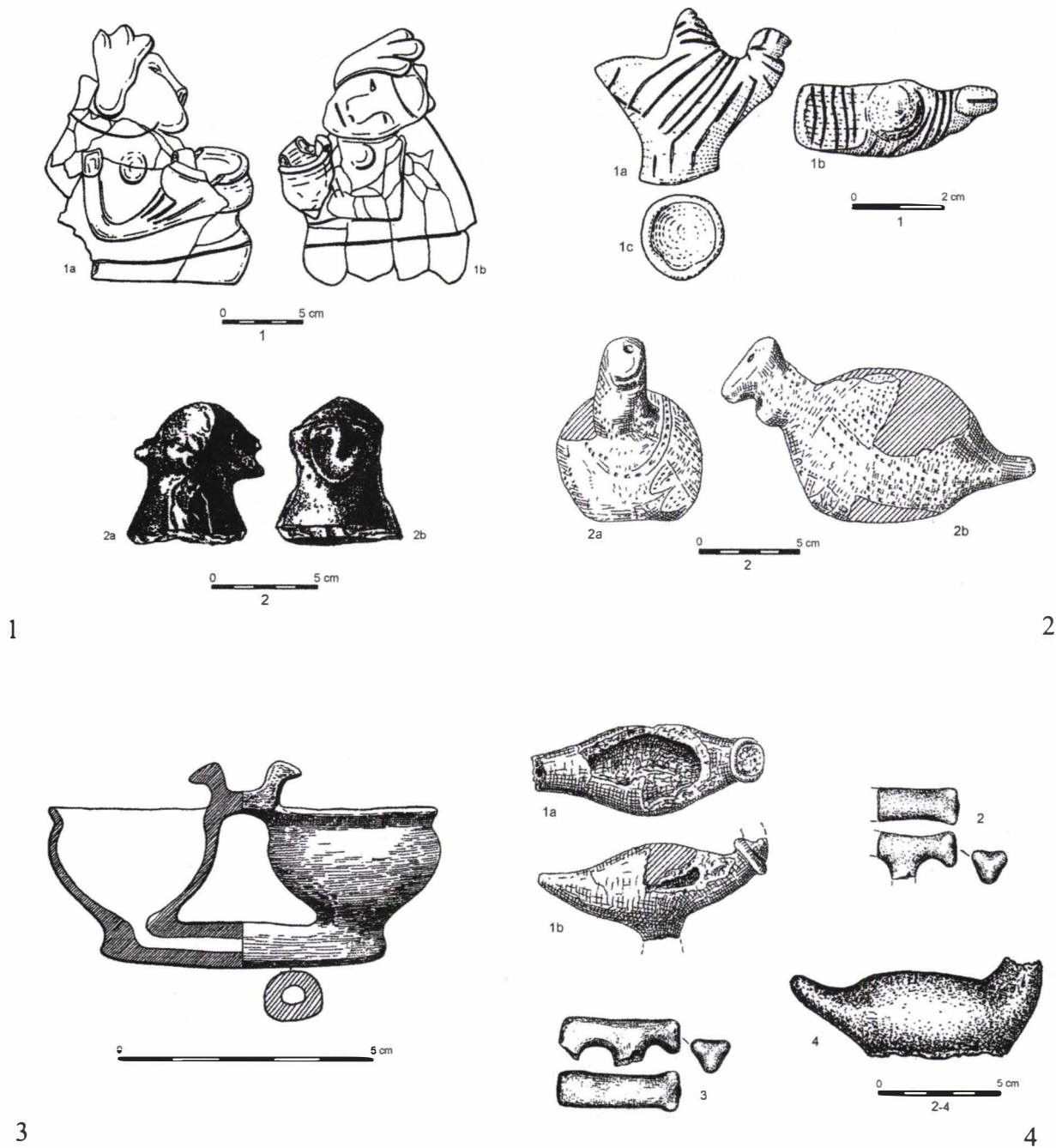
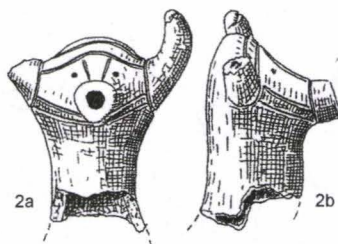


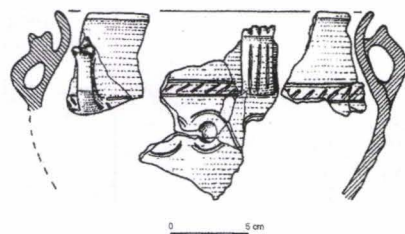
Fig. 1. Anthropomorphic figurines: 1 Chmielów Piaskowy, Ostrowiecki district (after Godłowski, Wichman 1998); 2 - Wietrzno, Krosno district (after Madyda-Legutko 1996).
 Fig. 2. Zoomorphic figurines: 1 Jakuszowice, Kazimierza district (after Godłowski 1992); 2 Sobocisko, Oława district (after Malinowski 1999).
 Fig. 3. Vessel decorated with the figurative ornamentation: Wymysłowo, Gostyń district (after Jasnosz 1952).
 Fig. 4. Zoomorphic figurines: 1 Igołomia, Kraków district, size unknown (after Malinowski 1999); 2-3 Opatów, Kłobuck district (after Godłowski 1966); 4 Strobin, Wieluń district (after Abramek 1982).



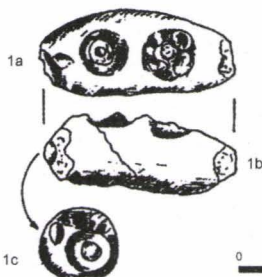
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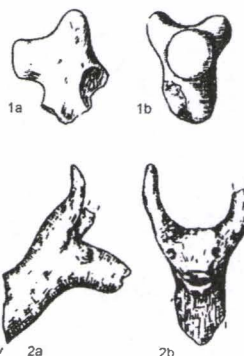
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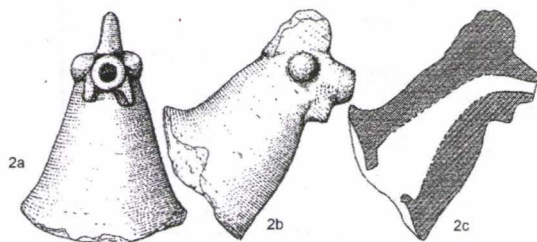


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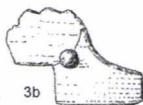
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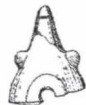
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Fig. 5. Zoomorphic figurines: 1 Gać, Przeworsk district, size unknown (after Hadaczek 1909?); 2 Wymysłowo, Gostyń district (after Malinowski 1999).

Fig. 6. Vessel decorated with the figurative ornamentation: Opatów, Kłobuck district (after Madyda-Legutko, Rodzińska-Nowak, Zagórska-Telega 2003).

Fig. 7. Zoomorphic figurines: 1 Różyce-Stara Wieś, Łowicz district (after Wiklak 1995); 2 Jakuszowice, Kazimierza district (after Rodzińska-Nowak 2003); 3 Opatów, Kłobuck district (after Rodzińska-Nowak 2003).

Fig. 8. Zoomorphic figurines: 1 Spicymierz, Turek district (after Kietlińska, Dąbrowska 1963); 2 Zofipole, Kraków district (after Dobrzańska 2000); 3 Igołomia, Kraków district (after Dobrzańska 1990).

Fig. 9. Anthropomorphic figurine: Aleksandrowice, Kraków district (after Naglik 2001).

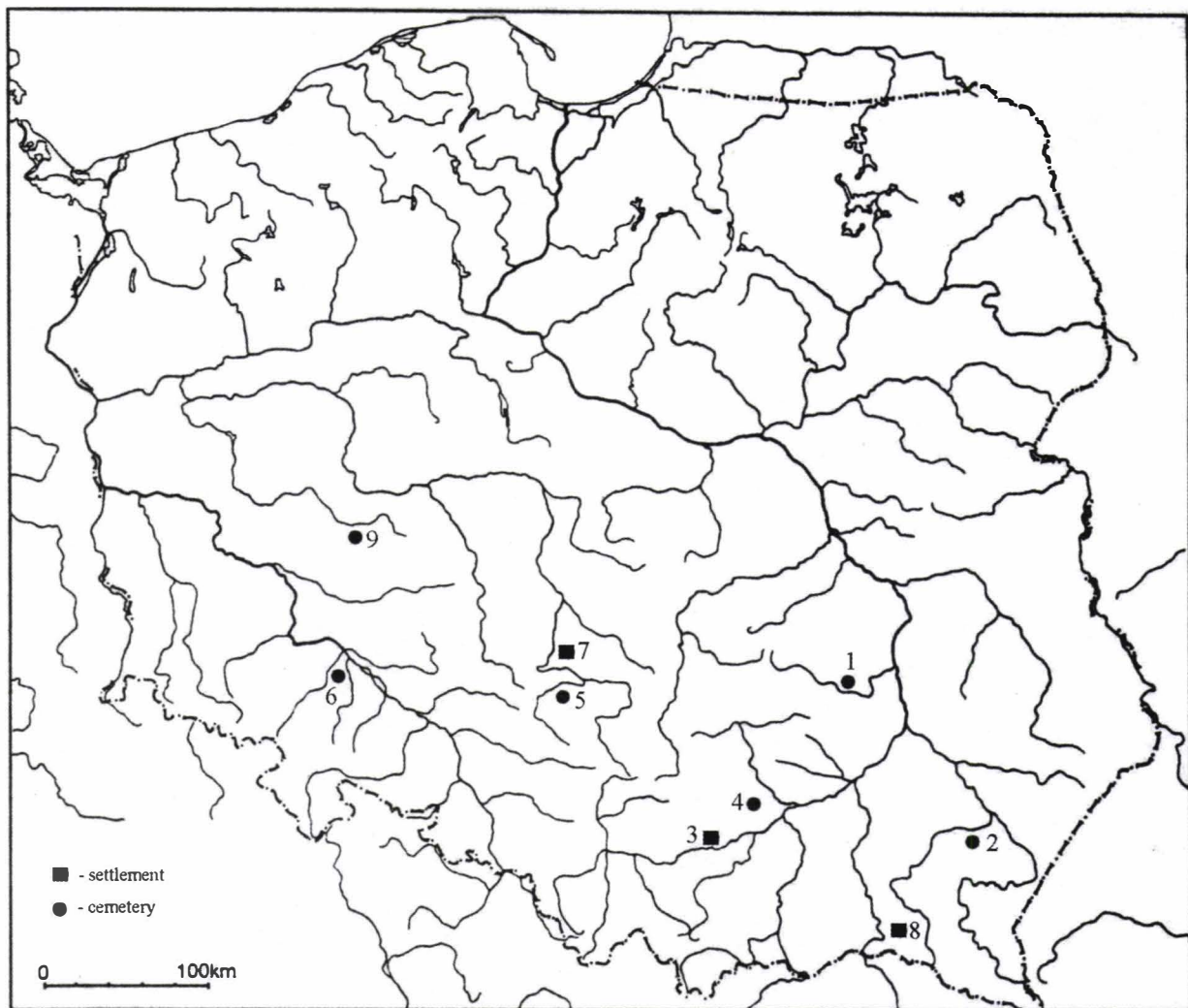


Fig. 10. Sites of the Przeworsk culture with figural relics from the early Roman period from territory of Poland: 1 Chmielów Piaskowy, Ostrowiecki district, Świętokrzyskie voivodeship; 2 Gać, Przeworsk district, Podkarpackie voivodeship; 3 Igołomia, Kraków district, Małopolskie voivodeship; 4 Jakuszowice, Kazimierza district, Świętokrzyskie voivodeship; 5 Opatów, Kłobuck district, Śląskie voivodeship; 6 Sobocisko, Oława district, Dolnośląskie voivodeship; 7 Strobin, Wieluń district, Łódzkie voivodeship; 8 Wietrzno, Krosno district, Podkarpackie voivodeship; 9 Wymysłowo, Gostyń district, Wielkopolskie voivodeship.

SANCTUAIRES ET PLACES DE CULTE DES GÊTES DANS LA BULGARIE DU NORD – EST

Diana Gergova (Sofia – Bulgaria)

Mots-clés : sanctuaires, lieux de culte, Gètes, Bulgarie du Nord-Est

“ Décénée ... les a instruits dans toutes les branches de la philosophie. Il leur a appris l'éthique, tout en les débarrassant de leurs coutumes barbares, les sciences physiques, les faisant vivre d'après les lois de la nature; ces lois étant écrites, on les a conservées jusqu'à présent sous le nom de bélagines; il leur a enseigné la logique, les rendant spirituellement au-dessus des autres nations; pendant qu'il démontrait la théorie des douze signes du zodiaque, il leur a fait voir les planètes et tous les secrets de l'astronomie, comment l'orbite de la lumière croît et décroît, les dimensions du globe de feu du soleil par rapport au globe de la terre et leur a fait connaître les noms et les signes des trois cent quarante six étoiles qui traversent le ciel de l'est à l'ouest, tantôt se rapprochant, tantôt s'éloignant de la voûte céleste.

Jordanes, Getica, 69

La conception, créée par les auteurs antiques, du lien particulièrement étroit des “Gètes qui immortalisent” et de leur roi, prêtre et dieu, le mythique Zalmoxis, avec la doctrine de l'immortalité de l'âme et les mystères de l'au-delà, prédestinent le rôle extrêmement important des données archéologiques pour l'enrichissement des sources sur l'organisation de la vie religieuse dans les terres gètes.

Où sont disposés les sanctuaires et les places de culte des Gètes, dont le nom tribal peut être le plus probablement lié au terme “goetes”, c.a.d. prophètes (Gergova 2007, p.10) quelle est l'organisation de l'espace sacré et de l'activité rituelle qui peut être reconstruite sur la base des données archéologiques?

La recherche pendant les dernières années dans la Bulgarie du NE montre que comme dans le reste du monde thrace ici aussi, à la fin du II et le commencement du I millénaire av. J.C. s'effectuent des changements considérables dans le système d'agglomération. Un des aspects essentiels est l'apparition en masse d'endroits de culte et de sanctuaires (Gergova 2007a). Fondés à proximité de sources d'eau, dans des conditions microclimatiques favorables (Domaradzki 1994) et à la croisée de chemins importants, ils se transforment en centre de base du système d'agglomération thrace.

Un grand nombre des sanctuaires jouent un rôle non seulement dans la vie religieuse, mais aussi dans la vie politique de la Thrace et sont à l'origine des processus d'urbanisation pendant les siècles qui suivent. Un moment important est l'apparition de complexes de culte de caractère funéraire, dans lesquels les sanctuaires sont mutuellement liés aux nécropoles de tumulus. Une pratique générale s'établit, d'un cérémonial d'enfouissement d'objets rituels en des endroits sacrés, visiblement non marqués (Гепрова 1987 ; Gergova 1988; Gergova 2007a).

Les études restreintes du territoire de la Bulgarie du NE permettent la création seulement d'une idée préalable de la grande diversité des caractéristiques topographiques, de la

planification, des fonctions et des rites dans les sanctuaires et les endroits de culte dans cette partie de l'aréal gète. Des grottes dans les cañons pittoresques des rivières, des téménos sur de hauts plateaux de pierre ou dans les vallées, ou bien tout simplement des places stratégiques visibles ont été choisis pour des cérémonies religieuses, différentes de par leur caractère.

Sur le territoire de la Bulgarie du NE d'aujourd'hui, les premiers résultats dans cette direction arrivèrent après le commencement en 1982 de l'étude archéologique systématique de la supposée " Dausdava " – le centre religieux et politique gète à " Sborianovo ", en vue de l'éclaircissement de son caractère, de son étendue, des frontières chronologiques et des fonctions des différentes parties intégrantes (Gergova 1992 ; Gergova 2000).

A part les témoignages d'une présence humaine dans les cavernes de l'énéolithique et de l'âge de fer jusqu'au moyen âge (Гайганджиева, Павлов 2005), l'étude des nécropoles de la haute époque de fer et de l'époque hellénistique, ainsi que de la ville thrace, trois autres sites de culte ont été identifiés sur le territoire du centre gète, fondé aussi à la fin du II et le commencement du I millénaire av. J.C. Après le milieu du IV s. av.J.C., tout ensemble avec la ville, ils forment le centre d'une agglomération gète bien planifiée, entouré de l'est, du nord et de l'ouest d'imposantes nécropoles tumulaires (**Fig.1**)

Le sanctuaire disposé sur la rive occidentale de la rivière Krapinetz, sur le haut plateau de " Kamen rid " fournit les données les plus anciennes, concernant l'organisation d'un espace sacré. (Герова 1988 ; Герова 1990; Герова 2006). La surface, entourée de murs de pierre du nord au sud, et limitée par le cañon riverain de l'est à l'ouest est de 47 hectares. L'exploration a permis d'établir deux étapes de développement du sanctuaire. Pendant la première, se rapportant aux XI - VII ss. av. J.C., l'espace sacré est entouré au sud d'un mur de pierre massif qui continue aussi en direction SE – NO. Au sud de lui, à l'époque hellénistique, est construite une nouvelle enceinte de pierre. L'entrée, découverte dans le mur hellénistique oriental laisse à supposer qu'à l'époque plus ancienne, le passage était aussi au sud. Le mur septentrional du sanctuaire, probablement avec des reconstructions, a été utilisé pendant tout le I millénaire. On peut clairement discerner deux lots de terrain pendant l'âge de fer ancien. Sur le palier de roche naturel, directement au nord du mur méridional sont disposés des autels ronds d'argile enduits sur le rocher, certains d'entre eux avec une base de pierre et des fragments de céramique. Parmi la grande quantité de céramique fragmentée sont découverts, aussi, des récipients entiers – certains avec des traces de brûlure (Гоцев, Шалганова 2006), des idoles de glaise, des objets de culte, des parures de bronze et d'autres. Des concentrations d'os animaux, un crâne humain, ainsi qu'un enterrement de bébé ont été aussi trouvés (**Fig.2**).

Les fosses rituelles forment une autre zone, disposée au nord des foyers, vers le centre du territoire enceint. Dans l'une d'elles – double, ont été trouvées des coupes avec des anses rituellement brisées, ainsi que des ustensiles bicôniques, dans une autre – une idole féminine d'argile et des spirales de bronze. La présence de deux constructions de terre-glaise, dans la partie du sud-est et la partie centrale du terrain encadré suggèrent que le territoire sacré a été habité durant l'ancien âge de fer, bien que par un nombre limité de personnes (Герова 1988 ; Герова 1990 ; Герова 2006).

Le sanctuaire est radicalement réorganisé pendant la deuxième moitié du IV s. av. J.C. D'ensemble avec la construction d'une nouvelle muraille d'enceinte a été formé un ensemble de deux cercles de pierre dans la partie NO de l'espace entouré. Les cercles liés par une aire rituelle de pierre commune diffèrent de par leur plan et fonctions. Celui du nord, d'un plan oval et une entrée du SE, est bâti dans la technique des murs d'enceinte – de pierres non taillées qui forment les deux faces et un remplissage de pierres menus. Celui du sud est de grandes pierres non taillées et inclue un grand morceau de roche – probablement un autel. Le matériel céramique de

cette époque est exclusivement rare et se découvre dans la partie sud du téménos, dans le secteur de l'activité rituelle plus ancienne (I'eproba 2006). La construction de cet ensemble est en contraste frappant avec les remarquables tombeaux de la nécropole hellénistique du sanctuaire et témoignent d'un moment intéressant de la philosophie des Gètes thraces – la véritable architecture parfaite est la sépulcrale, parce qu'elle est un élément essentiel des rites funéraires, du sacrement de l'immortalisation (Gergova 1996).

La position des deux cercles sur le haut plateau suppose leur lien avec les corps célestes lumineux, avec la vénération du soleil et de la lune, d'Apollon et d'Artémis, dans le cadre de cette ancienne triade sacrée qui s'impose dans les sanctuaires les plus importants de la Thrace et du monde Egéen à la fin du II millénaire av. J.C., comme par exemple à Délos, Delphi et d'autres (Gergova D. 2005).

Le commencement de la vénération des sources et des rochers, transformés en autels imposants, dans la vallée de la rivière Krapinetz, au cœur-même du centre gète, peut être aussi daté à la fin du II et le commencement du I millénaire av.J.C., d'après les fragments de céramique découverts. (Balkanska 1998 ; I'eproba 2006 ; I'eproba , Teodorov 2006) (**Fig.3**). Ici aussi, les traces significatives d'édifices sont liées à l'époque hellénistique, lorsque dans la réorganisation du centre gète ont été introduites les idées d'une conception d'espace unique. Les données des recherches montrent trois étapes dans le développement du sanctuaire après le milieu du IV s. av.J.C. À la première phase se rapportent les nombreux autels plats d'argile, découverts dans le secteur au nord du tombeau du saint alian Demir baba et en dessous. (Balkanska 1998, p.19-46) La deuxième étape est marquée par une construction rectangulaire de terre glaise avec, disposés à l'intérieur, deux paliers rectangulaires pour les dons et trois omphalos d'argile. Un fragment de mur d'apside avec un grand pythos laisse à supposer que cette construction peut être mise au nombre des édifices en apside avec une destination de culte, dont la présence est attestée dans les terres gètes au nord du Danube. Des fragments d'eschara permettent de supposer une structure de l'édifice, semblable aux constructions rectangulaires avec un mur en apside, découvertes au nord du Danube (I'eproba 2006; I'eproba 2007).

La troisième phase est liée à la reconstruction du sanctuaire après le grand tremblement de terre au commencement du III s. av.J.C. Les grands blocs qui se sont détachés ont été transformés en autels. L'un d'entre eux, avec une niche en apside entaillée dans son mur occidental, est avec des chenaux pour l'écoulement du sang des bêtes de sacrifice. Le deuxième, en forme de marche, appartient au type d'autels, caractéristiques pour les sanctuaires de roche dans les terres thraces du sud et l'Asie Mineure occidentale, ainsi qu'à Delphes, fondés à la fin du II et le commencement du I millénaire av.J.C. On suppose que le téménos est, alors de forme quadrangulaire, avec des murs d'enceinte de pierre. Le fonctionnement de ce sanctuaire jusqu'au I s. av.J.C. et à l'époque romaine, aussi, montre la force des aspects religieux du centre gète, conservés même après la déchéance de la ville après le milieu du III s. av. J.C. Des fragments de recipients, rituellement brisés et rangés, ensemble avec un bois de cerf et une fibula, la quantité considérable de céramique dans la région du sanctuaire suggèrent les pratiques de culte dans la région (Balkanska 1998, p. 19-46)

Dans la structure harmonique du centre gète s'insèrent logiquement deux groupes d'équipements de pierre, disposés sur le territoire de la nécropole de l'est et de l'ouest. Le plus grand est celui sur le territoire de la nécropole tumulaire ouest de Sborianovo, dans la localité "Novite koreneji"(Vulcheva 2000)(**Fig.4**). Un mur de pierre, long de 380 m. et large de 0,80 – 1,20 m., d'une construction instable, entoure de l'est la place de culte dont l'activité comme telle est enregistrée après le I millénaire av. J.C. Elle représente un ensemble de 38 constructions de pierre de forme ronde, ovale, rectangulaire et en arc, de fosses rituelles avec des fragments

d'amphores, de céramique thrace et de crêpi brûlé du IV – III s. av.J.C. Quatre fosses funéraires, sous la partie sud des constructions de pierre avec des enterrements de squelettes se caractérisent par des interventions post-sépulcrales – des déplacements de parties du squelette, un nouvel arrangement anatomique d'éléments du squelette qui montrent la conservation des particularités des rites de funérailles thraces, concernant probablement des personnes de statut social spécifique, perceptibles dès le commencement de l'âge du fer, pendant tout le I millénaire d'avant J.C.

Un service de trois récipients de glaise, découvert dans la partie centrale d'une grande aire d'argile, ainsi qu'un trésor rituellement enfoui dans les limites de cet endroit de culte et contenant 56 monnaies républicaines d'argent dans un petit récipient d'argile, datées du milieu du II jusqu'au milieu du I s. av.J.C. et une monnaie d'Odessos, montrent l'existence, ici, de pratiques de culte même après le déclin des fonctions de la cité environ au milieu du III s. av. J.C. (Vulcheva 2000, p. 217)

Une inscription, dédiée à la déesse Phosphoros par Meneharmos, fils de Posidonius, datée vers le commencement du III s. av. J.C. et découverte près de la porte sud de la cité thrace, suppose qu'en outre des sanctuaires isolés, il y avait, aussi, dans les frontières de la ville un petit sanctuaire, consacré à la protectrice de la ville (Чичикова с колектив 1988).

L'investigation du sanctuaire de roche près du village de Strelkovo en 2005 (Fouilles de D. Gergova et G. Atanasov) (**Fig.5**), situé dans un cañon fluvial, a permis la découverte de traces d'autels d'argile et d'activité rituelle dans la grotte, disposée à une hauteur d'environ 15 m au-dessus de la vallée de la rivière. À la base du massif de roche, sous la grotte, ont été trouvées des marches taillées dans le rocher. Une couche culturelle considérable de récipients d'argile, rituellement brisés, a été formée au pied de la grotte. Le sondage montre les limites chronologiques de la période la plus intensive de l'utilisation de la place du bas bronze à l'époque romaine et même plus tard. Des fosses rituelles, creusées dans le plateau de roche au dessus de la grotte et une grande nécropole de tumulus, ainsi que d'autres agglomérations importantes, mais non étudiées en détail, avec une résolution de l'espace du type du centre gète à Sborianovo, peuvent être remarquées, à part près de Strelkoto, aussi près du village de Vetren - région de Silistra, près du village de Pobit kamak – région de Razgrad et d'autres. Ils suggèrent la stabilité du modèle des centres de type dispersé dans cette partie de la Thrace, dans lesquels la ville, les sanctuaires et les nécropoles sont soumis à un schéma de planification uniforme.

Aux sanctuaires de roche il faut ajouter, aussi, l'unique pour le moment sanctuaire maritime dans la localité de Yailata, au N/NE du cap Kaliakra (le village de Kamen briag, municipalité de Kavarna, région de Dobrich)(Илорожанов 2007). Dans la partie NE d'une terrasse, disposée sur un plateau de roche à une hauteur de 10-15 m au-dessus du niveau de la mer et approximativement de même plus bas par rapport au niveau du continent, ont été découvertes deux grandes ancrs de pierre, chacune avec un trou, verticalement "enfoncées" et trois autres plus petites, librement couchées. L'une d'elles a été utilisée, avant d'être ainsi placée sur l'aire au-dessus de la mer. Au-dessus de cette terrasse est documenté un sanctuaire de roche sur un palier à 46 m au-dessus du niveau de la mer, avec une vue sur la mer et l'horizon lointain à l'est. Des entailles linéaires et angulaires dans le roc ont été conservés, un escalier à trois marches et menant vers la mer a été taillé dans le roc, ainsi que trois tombes à son pied. Les résultats des études archéoastronomiques montrent que l'axe principal de l'ensemble de sanctuaire est orienté vers le point de l'équinoxe d'hiver (azimut 123 degrés et 38 minutes) et se rapporte aux VI-V s. av.J.-C. Les ancrs de pierre, découvertes à l'Yailata, sont les seules du littoral bulgare de la mer Noire, trouvées en terre ferme, à 10-15 m au-dessus du niveau de la mer. Leur mise en place sous le sanctuaire et au-dessus du port comme des votifs, les

déterminent comme un élément central dans cet ensemble sacré, taillé dans la roche et lié à la déesse-mère et son fils/époux, le Soleil. La datation de ce type d'ancres dans la deuxième moitié du II et les premiers siècles du I millénaire av. J.C. et les études archéoastronomiques datent le sanctuaire vers la fin de l'époque de bronze et l'ancien âge de fer (Порожанов 2007).

Un autre aspect des pratiques de culte des Gètes thraces représente l'enfouissement rituel de trouvailles collectives, caractéristique aussi pour les autres parties de l'aréal thrace (Гегрова 1987 ; Gergova 1988) Cette tradition, attestée dans les terres gètes dès la basse époque de bronze par de nombreuses trouvailles collectives de bronze, ainsi que par une trouvaille remarquable de moules de pierre pour l'élaboration d'objets de bronze et d'insignes de Pobit kamak (Черных 1987, p. 244-248). Dans la région de Razgrad, acquiert, à l'âge de fer, des caractéristiques stables. Une tradition thrace commune est l'enfouissement de services d'argile, de parures et d'éléments d'harnachement de cheval. Ils doivent être, le plus probablement liés à la vénération d'une triade ancienne sacrée de la Grande déesse-mère, Artémis et Apollon (Гегрова 1987 ; Gergova 1988)

Dans la Bulgarie du NE, parmi eux sont la coupe d'or de Béléné (Marazov 1997), les ustensiles d'argile de Tcherkovna - région de Razgrad, la trouvaille collective de ceintures d'argent et de boucles d'oreilles en or de Barzitza – région de Provadia (Гегрова 1982) (**Fig.6**), le service d'argent de Borovo (Иванов 1975). Le pégasse de Vazovo – région de Razgrad (Габровски, Калоянов 1980), les appliques d'harnachement de cheval et le casque d'apparat de Letnitza (Венедиков 1987) et les parures d'argent de Tcheluchnitza. (Тонкова 2006). Le trésor de Letnitza (**Fig.7**) ainsi que les casques de bronze ou d'apparat en or (Roussé), découverts uniquement dans l'aréal gète et rituellement enfouis montrent que dans les pratiques rituelles des Gètes, probablement une place importante a, aussi, la vénération d'un autre dieu – Arès (Гегрова 2005a; Гегрова 2006; Гегрова, Тодоров 2006).

La découverte du service de Borovo sur le territoire d'une nécropole de tumulus, du Pégasse de Vasovo près du centre de culte des Gètes à Sborianovo, ainsi que d'une fosse de l'époque romaine, pleine de stèles votives du Chevalier thrace, non loin du Grand tumulus de Svechtari montrent que les trouvailles enfouies sont une trace des pratiques de culte et funéraires compliquées des Gètes, incluses dans un système religieux uni. La similitude de la structure des trouvailles, rituellement enfouies, avec celle des trouvailles enfouies dans les fosses de sanctuaire, comme par exemple du sanctuaire de "Kamen rid", ou bien avec les services dans certains des tombeaux, souligne l'union étroite des pratiques de culte des Gètes.

L'emplacement des trouvailles collectives est une possibilité de localisation de territoires sacrés en dehors, aussi, des ensembles funéraires et de culte. Telles sont les trouvailles de l'île de Béléné, la trouvaille de Barzitza, découverte sur la rive de la rivière de Provadia, et d'autres.

L'aperçu donné n'épuise pas le problème des sanctuaires et des places de culte dans l'aréal gète. Il existe encore un grand nombre de possibilités et de nuances dans l'interprétation d'autres ensembles (les eschares d'argile dans les édifices d'habitat, les autels d'argile dans des tumulus sans, ou bien avec enterrement) etc.

La pratique thrace commune de la fondation de sanctuaires et d'endroits de culte près de sources d'eau, sur de hauts massifs de roche, dans des conditions climatiques favorables et à des carrefours importants, se rapporte aussi aux Gètes. La ville à Sborianovo est ce centre gète important par lequel, de l'Égée, des marchandises pénétraient, par le Danube, dans l'intérieur de la Thrace du nord et de l'Europe. Avec les voies maritimes est lié le sanctuaire près de la Yailata. La topographie des sanctuaires dans les terres gètes est enrichie, aussi, avec la documentation, pour la première fois, de l'activité de culte dans les grottes, au-dessus des cañons pittoresques des rivières et des ravins dans la Bulgarie du NE (Strelkovo).

Les études archéoastronomiques montrent le lien étroit de la résolution spatiale des grands centres gètes, ainsi que de leurs éléments séparés, avec l'harmonie du cosmos (Gergova 2005).

La structure des sanctuaires et des téménos – avec des murs d'enceinte bas et une entrée du sud, correspond au modèle méditerranéen commun d'organisation des places sacrées. Les constructions de terre glaise et les cercles de pierre diffèrent par leur simplicité qui cherche une harmonie avec la nature divinifiée.

La présence de âtres ronds et carrés, à part dans les édifices de culte avec des murs en apside dans les sanctuaires, ainsi que sous des tumulus et d'un type déterminé de tombeaux, suggèrent les fonctions soulignées, aussi, des monuments sépulcraux de places de culte. Ils suggèrent, aussi, le lien particulièrement étroit des enterrés avec le culte.

Sous un ciel découvert s'effectuent les offrandes sanglantes et sans effusion de sang, les libations, la déposition des dons, souvent accompagnée de blessures et de fragmentation des objets. L'endroit de dépôt sont aussi bien les fosses dans les sanctuaires et les endroits sacrés que les tumulus et les nécropoles de tumulus. A part les services, les ornements et les harnachements, dans les terres gètes étaient aussi donnés en offrande les casques d'apparat. (Гергова 2005а, Гергова 2006, Гергова, Теодоров 2006). Une grande partie des dons déposés sont des monuments exclusifs de la toreutique gète et révèlent un art qui initie et légitimise l'histoire sacrée avec son propre universum et mentalité spécifique, avec des motifs caractéristiques, des images, des scènes et des cérémoniaux déjà cristallisés (Sîrbu 2002, p. 370). L'influence de cet art comme une partie de l'idéologie gète, arrive loin à l'ouest et au nord de l'Europe et y demeure des siècles plus tard.

Des données directes et indirectes des monuments, suggèrent que derrière la diversité des places de culte et des sanctuaires se cache la pratique d'un système rituel ordonné qui doit être logiquement lié à une triade sacrée “hyperboréenne” de la Grande déesse mère et ses jumeaux Artémis et Apollon, ainsi que la place particulière d'Arès dans les mystères des guerriers gètes.

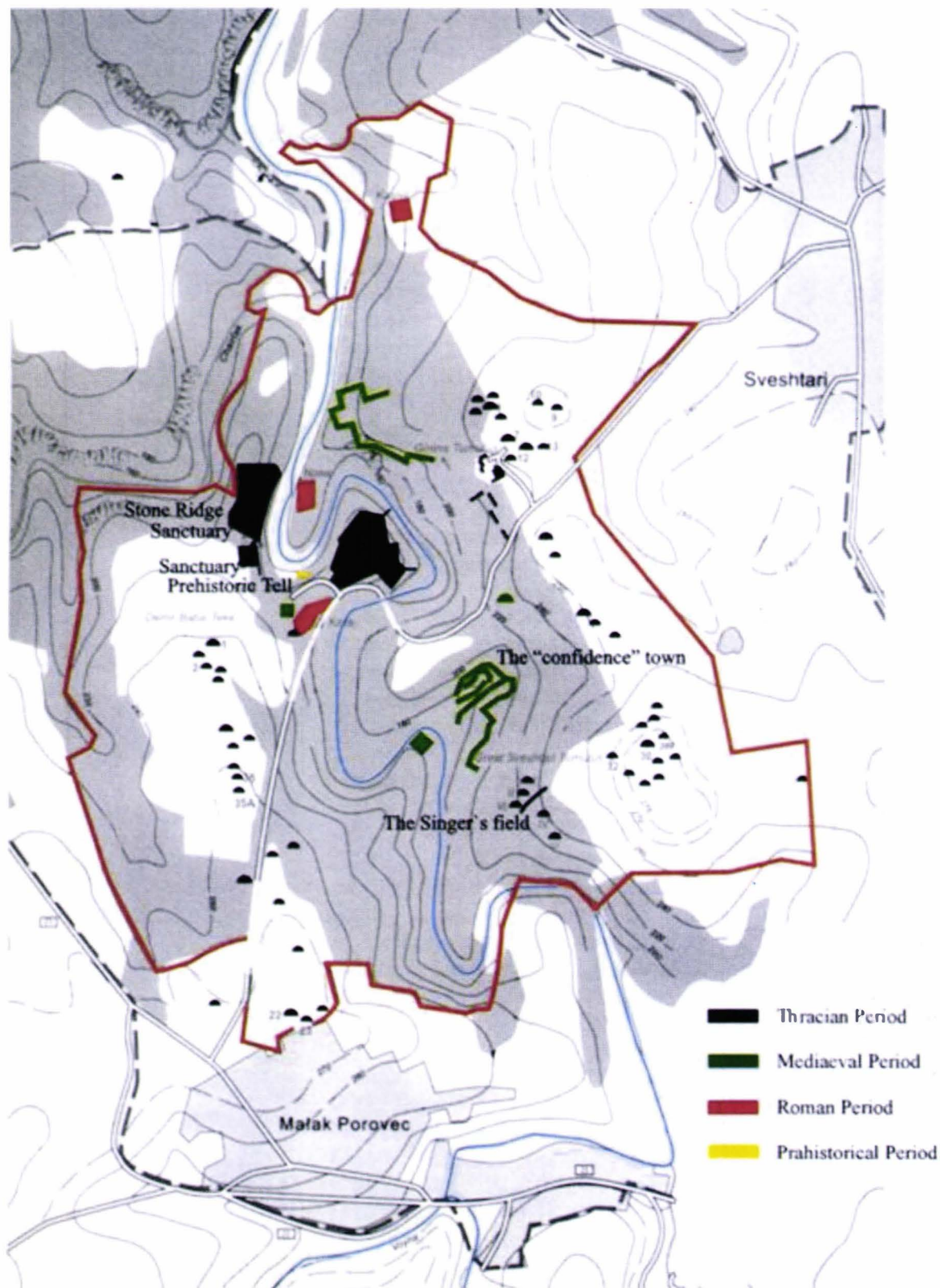
Les caractéristiques révélées des sanctuaires et des places de culte gètes et les pratiques en relation avec eux, bien qu'encore fragmentées, rendent en grande partie objectives les assertions des auteurs antiques et montrent l'importance des études archéologiques pour l'approfondissement ultérieur de nos connaissances sur l'organisation de la vie religieuse et des pratiques des Gètes thraces.

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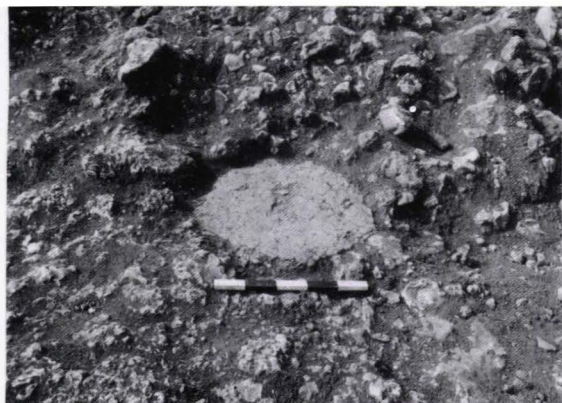
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1. Plan général de Sborianovo.



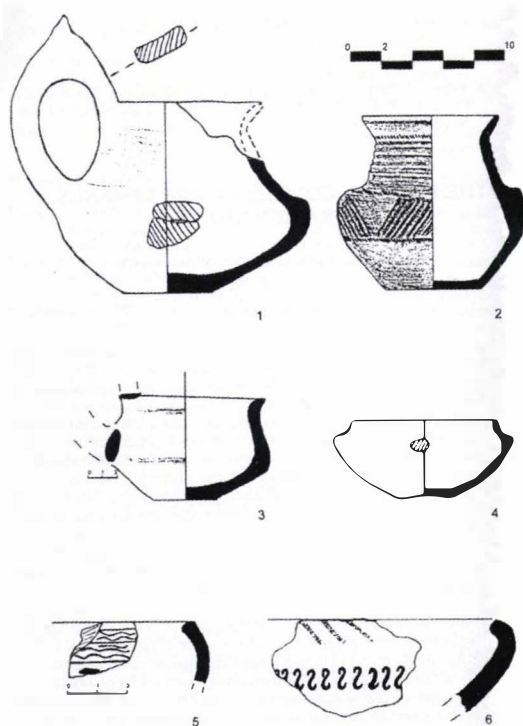
a



b

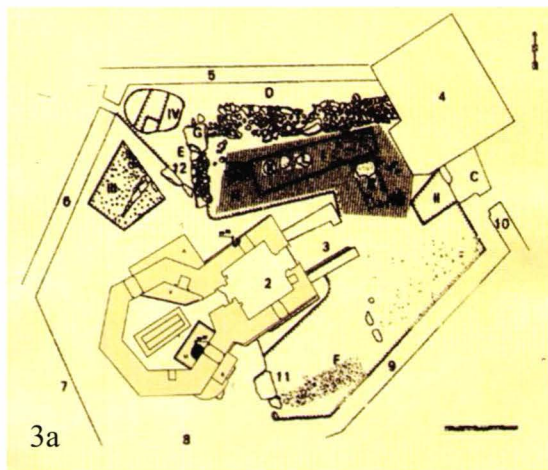


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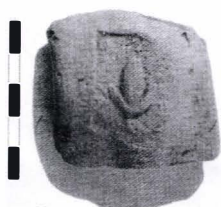


d

2. Le sanctuaire de Kamen rid
 - a. aperçu général sur les fouilles
 - b. autels d'argile
 - c. le cercle de pierre de l'époque hellénistique
 - d. vases céramiques, céramique et trouvailles



3c1



3c2



3d

Табло I

Table I



1



2



3



4



5

3c3

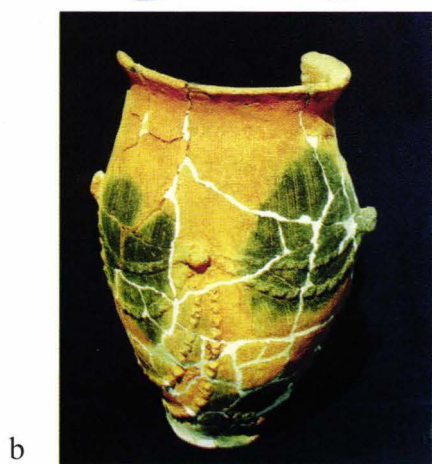
3. Le sanctuaire près de Demir baba teke.

a. plan général

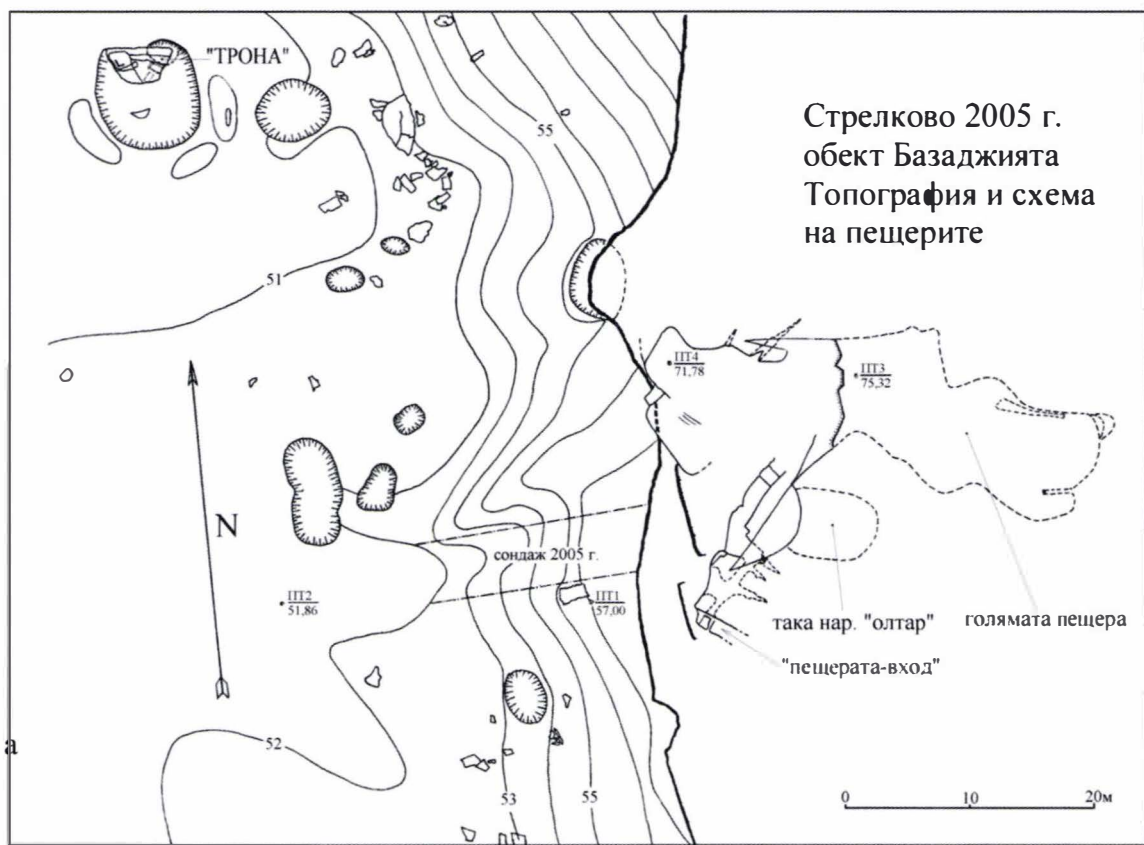
b. aperçu général sur les fouilles. A.Balkanska

c. céramique du sanctuaire et trouvailles

d. une partie du mur en apside avec l'omphalos. Fouilles 2004.



4. a. Strelkovo-Badjaliata - monnaies; b-c Sboryanovo-Novite koreneji - céramique



b



c

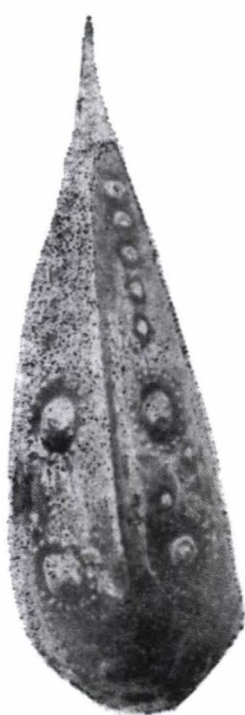
5. Le sanctuaire de roche près du village de Strelkovo, région de Silistra

a. plan général

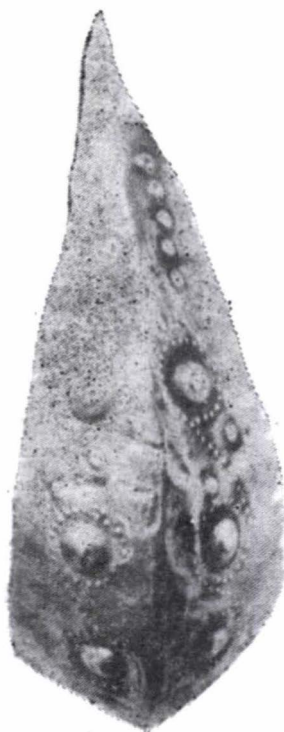
b-c. fosses de roche



a



b



c

6. Trouvaille collective de Barzitza, région de Provadia



7a



7b



7c



7d

7. Les plaques-applications vers un casque d'apparat de trésor de Letniza (7a-c) et casque d'apparat de Sutton Hoo (7d)

SACRIFICING “AFTER THE ANCESTRAL CUSTOM”.

An attempt at reconsidering the Thracian pit sanctuaries

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Key-words: Thracian pit sanctuaries, *bothroi* in the Greek world, rituals.

The problems related to the ritual practices in the so-called pit sanctuaries in the West Pontic region and to those in the mainland, are far not new. The increasing interest in their interpretation has been provoked by several newly excavated sites and by generalized studies in the Bulgarian and in the Romanian literature as well (Георгиева 1991, p. 1-11; Паунов 1998, p. 7-13; Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 164-183; Балабанов 2002, p. 241-542; Vulcheva 2002, p. 103-125; Tonkova 2003, p. 479-504; Тонкова 2005, p. 67-73; Tonkova 2005; last in Sirbu 2006). The profound study on the matter made so far provided undoubtedly a good factual database for further debates and hypotheses.

The outgoing point of this essay represents one particular case – that of the pit sanctuary by Debelt, located in the southern littoral of the Western Pontos. Its chronological position in the 7th – 4th centuries B.C. and the main characteristics of the pits – such as spatial organization, shape, construction and filling show certain uniformities with the contemporary or earlier complexes in the Thracian mainland (Георгиева 1991, p. 1-11; Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 170-173; Балабанов 2002, p. 241-542; Vulcheva 2002, p. 103-125; Tonkova 2003, p. 479-499; Тонкова 2005, p. 67-73) (**Fig. 1**).

The synchronous appearance of the so-called pit-fields, their distribution area and the typological similarities, are the common criteria for considering them as a Thracian phenomenon (last in Oppermann 2004, p. 31, 34, 94). Other group of authors is reasonably moderate to such concept specifying the existence of parallels in different regions of the ancient world – Greece, Central Europe etc. (Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 174; Балабанов 2002, p. 544-545; Vulcheva 2002, p. 103-125; Tonkova 2003, p. 483).

However, the main point of difference between the pits in the Thracian inlands and in Debelt is the material found in their filling – the latter often representing Greek imported ware, which earliest date - the late 7th century B.C. coincides with the establishment of the neighbor Greek settlement Apollonia Pontica (**Fig.2**). Hence the general structure of the pits and the rituals observed there enhances a principal comparison with the ritual practice performed in *bothroi* in the sanctuaries of some Greek colonies as these in Odessos, Histria and Olbia (Тончева 1967, p.157 ff; last in Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 171). The function of the pit structures (*bothroi*) attested there has been considered recently as “serving probably for burying the items of ritual furnishing and apparatus no longer in use” (Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 170, 174 with references; last in Rusyaeva 2003, p. 110).

Although it seems that this statement requires more detailed study of each particular case. The reason for that are the scholars' arguments for the close relationship of the *bothroi* in some Greek sanctuaries with the worship of Asclepius, or of chthonic deities and/or heroes (Ekroth 1998, p. 120-127; Riethmüller 1999, p. 123-143; Riethmüller 2001; Morris et al. 2002).

Further on the similarities in the shape, filling and stratigraphy of the pits either in the Thracian lands or in the Greek mainland (for the pit structures in the Greek world compare in Ekroth 1998, p. 120-127; Morris et al. 2002 *passim*) provides a firm base for establishing at least a formal connection between the ritual actions performed there.

Judging from this point of view, the general difference between *bothroi* in Greek sanctuaries and the pit structures in the periphery of the Greek world should be searched in the main principles of organization of the sacred space, according to which the former were organized after a “classical” pattern. Although the exploit of this view could be a misleading outgoing point for examine the question, because the formal criteria for distinguishing them lie either in the presence or absence of cult buildings – temples, *temenos* wall, altar etc., the latter appearing sometimes in the Thracian pit sanctuaries as well.

In the archaeological complex in “Kostadin cheshma” in Debelt, a round rock-cut structure with charcoal traces around it, rectangular ashlar platforms, a ritual ditch and ceramic fragments around the pits were documented (Балабанов 1999, p. 69-71). Similar situation was observed also in the area of Drama, Yambol region – in the so called Early Iron Age structure B in the place Kairyaka, which represents an ellipsoidal stone ring around a circular stone pavement (Лихардус et al. 2001 p. 136-137, fig. 47) (**Fig. 3**). In the recently explored “pit fields” from the Early Iron Age to 5th – 4th century B.C. in Polski Gradets by Radnevo and Malko Tarnovo by Chirpan (both located to the south of Haemus mountain), several stone altars imposing in their sizes and horseshoe-shaped cult ditches with stone platforms around the pits were reported (Ников 2005, p. 67; Тонкова, Димитров 2005, p. 75-76).

It is however very speculative to state, that the structures described above represent a specific Thracian phenomenon. One of the reasons is the above mentioned similarities with contemporary, earlier or later complexes within the ancient world, among which the recently reported archaeological structures in the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo, near Agrigento in Sicily evokes special interest (**Fig. 4**). Concerning the origin of the phenomenon, the conclusions of the excavators based on a large scale observations is, that “The dates suggest that of round chthonic shrines with pits were transmitted from one culture to another, the most plausible direction is from Sicily to the Aegean. The most plausible scenario is that Greek settlers adopted some indigenous religious activities, but adopted them to their own purposes, including (but not restricted to) chthonic cult. Agrigento may have been the major point of interaction” (Morris et al. 2002, p. 56).

Taking into consideration the case of the Thracian pit sanctuaries, which location points approximately the main contact directions along the river valleys in the time predating the Greek colonization and later – (see **Fig. 1**), it is reasonable to state that there were several points of interaction where the Greek settlers probably adopted similar type of riteness. Thus far the consistent development of the latter throughout the whole Roman age in Thrace can be qualified as a phenomenon of the diachronic development of the society.

The hypothesis enhances the search for further typological and essential similarities between the *bothroi* in the Greek temples and the so-called pit fields in Thrace. One of them is the existence of simple altar-like structures, attested in several Thracian pit-complexes. The same characteristic has been observed in many Greek sanctuaries from the archaic and earlier periods as well. As a matter of fact the later divergence between the construction and arrangement of both was obviously determined by the general ideological trends of the polis’ elaboration from one side, and by the conservatism of the non-polis society from the other (Фол Б. 2006, p. 30-31).

The next point of resemblance is the ritual itself and the sacrificial practices performed in pits. The analysis of the bone remains outlines following picture:

1. According to the observations, the majority of bone deposits represent the practice to store only particular parts of the victims (Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 177; Балабанов 2002, p. 542; for analyses see Tonkova 2003). In some of the cases a culinary treatment is detected (Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 177; Tonkova 2003, p. 487). The combination of the latter with finds of vegetable origin, broken vessels etc. makes possible to suggest that we are dealing here with some kind of sacrifice analogous to the well-known archaic and classical Greek *thysia*.

The basic elements of the latter include the slaughter of the victim on the altar, strewn by grains, collecting the blood in a vessel and libation, followed by common dining of the worshippers (Jameson 1994, 35; Scullion 2000, 163-171; Ekroth 2000, p. 267 – 268; Gebauer 2002, p. 255). More rarely this practice was completely replaced by holocaust, but as a rule the god's portion was only a part of the victim destroyed by burning (Jameson 1994, p. 35; Gebauer 2002, p. 255-256). The rest was usually consumed by the worshipers, which may represent the most plausible explanation of the bones with culinary treatment in the Thracian pit sanctuaries. This basic conclusion gives rise to the hypothesis that some of the ceramic fragments – of those particular shapes designed for eating and drinking could be interpreted as feasting traces.

2. The second possible interpretation deals with the cases when the ritual could be modified by a *theoxenia* element, i.e. by offering of the prepared food to the gods. As far as the *theoxenia* ritual was accompanied usually by meat and fruit offerings (Jameson 1994, p. 35 – 57), the vegetable remains and the intact vessels such as amphorae etc. point probably at similar practice.

The third case is that of the large bone deposits, attested in Drama (Лихардус и др. 2001, p. 143) and in the periphery of one tumulus in Istria (Alexandrescu, Evtimie 1959, p. 143 – 164; Alexandrescu 1966, p. 409 – 422). This special phenomenon could be probably considered in relationship with the so-called bone-altars made of skulls, horns and/or of the thighs of the victims, known from the literary description of the famous altar of Apollo at Delos and from the archaeologically attested practice at Didyma, Samos and Ephesos (Hägg 1998, p. 53-54; Chenal-Velarde, Studer 2003, p. 215 – 220).

3. The next point concerns the practice of depositing whole animals. It represents a type of relatively rare ritual action in case of the pit-sanctuaries, but on the other hand it was attested more often in funeral context. The common victims are horse, sheep, he-goat, ram, dog and cat in one case – the latter attested in a pit in Debel't sanctuary (Балабанов 1999, p. 69, 72, 74). This practice, as I would suggest resembles the *sphagia* ritual, which is also well known from the written sources since the Linear B tablets (Palaima 2004, p. 225). The features distinguishing it from the more regular *thysia* are the special treatment of the victim and the prominence of the blood offering. At this kind of sacrifice no altar was used, no fire was lit; the animal was simply killed and the blood flowed on the ground or into a *bothros* (Ekroth 2000, p. 269 – 271; Gebauer 2002, p. 255-256; 280-281 with references).

According to the widely spread opinion, this type of ritual action seems to have been performed on the battlefield (Ekroth 2000, p. 276-279), or in connection with the most sacramental rituals, such as purification and/or oaths (Gebauer 2002, p. 255). At this point it could be probably compared to the significance of the human sacrifice, which represents also an extreme case of sacrificial practice (Тонкова 2005, p. 70). The examples of that type were attested in Debel't, Gledachevo, Malko Tarnovo, Chirpan region, Drama, Durankulak (last in Тонкова 2005, p. 70-71 with literature) and in some complexes north of the Danube river, which are later in date (last in Sirbu 2006, p. 59 with references). As it has been confirmed by

the written sources, the human sacrifice was quite not unusual for ancient Thrace (for literary evidences see in Илѣнов 1989, p. 55-67 with references) and – as the archaeologically attested examples from the 7th century B.C. onwards show, it can be regarded also as a diachronic practice compared with the literary known instances from Hellas itself (for discussion on the human sacrifice see Heinrichs 1981, p.195 – 242; Hughes 1991; Brown 1991; Antonacio 1995; Φοῦλ Β. 2006, p. 116, 151-153).

Despite of the uncertainty of the comparison between literary narratives and archaeological situations, it is clear that the main component of the ritual practice – the pit, testifies to the prominence of blood and/or libation sacrifices, which are well attested in the rituals of several chthonic deities and/or heroes, as in the literary known instances of Agamedes at the Trophonios oracle in Lebadeia, in the Athenian Erechtheion etc. (for further examples see Ekroth 2000, p. 274 - 275) (**Fig. 5**). This association requires several points of consideration.

The one deals with the old-Greek term covering the meaning of the blood sacrifice - *εναγίζειν, καταγίζειν*, translated as “to be part of the pollution” (Power, Nagy 1999, p. 451), or similarly as “to absorb the victim and/or its blood” as an instrument for achieving the sacred purity (LSJ s.v.; for further interpretation see in Φοῦλ 2002, p. 286). According to the commonly accepted view based on the analysis of the terminology of the ancient written records, the term use to designate the rituals associated with chthonic deities or heroes (see in Илѣнова 2000, p. 139; the relation to the human sacrifices see in Yanakieva 2005 with references), as distinct to the verb *θύειν* applied to the Olympian sacrifice. As far as in the pit sanctuaries and also in the archaeological material from Hellas the existence of both ritual categories - *thysia* and *sphagia* is attested, the literary declared difference between Olympian and a non-Olympian rite evokes certain embarrassments.

The inconsistent information given by the written and the archaeological records was convincingly elucidated in the recent studies on the problem. The main point of the authors is that the sharp distinction between Olympic and chthonic gods (i.e. the ritual complexes and the ritual equipment) did not always exist at least until the post-Classical period (for detailed analysis see Ekroth 1998, p. 129-213; Scullion 2000, p. 163-171; Ekroth 2002, p. 23-128, 129-213). In summary, the author provides a useful critical review of the terms and definitions connected with Greek hero-cults and attempts to refute the traditional assumption that different rituals separated the heavenly gods from the heroes/chthonic gods and shows convincingly that the main ritual for both groups is the *thysia* sacrifice followed by dining (Ekroth 1998, 117-129; Ekroth 2000, p. 263-279; on the hero-cults see last in Antonacio 1995; Decoudi 1999; Φοῦλ Β. 2005).

An additional explanation gives the text of the sacred law from Selinous prescribing annual sacrifices to a series of supernatural figures – Zeus Eumenes, the Eumenides, Zeus Meilichios and the *Tritopatores* in connection to the Kotytia festival (Jameson, Jordan, Kotansky 1993). The latter are first described as “polluted” and the procedure is explicitly “as for heroes”, which includes libation down through a roof of the hypogeum, i.e. from the top into the ground. Next it comes the procedure of burning of the ninth part of the animal, the rest of which was probably dined on. After that there follows a sacrifice of a full-grown sheep, accompanied by libation of honey mixture and by olive, fruit and meat offerings - this time to the “pure Tritopatores” as to the gods (A 13 – 17).

The text evokes special interest in two points.

The first one concerns the nature of the so-called collective ancestors, which name has been recognized as early as in Linear B tablets (Decoudi 1993, p. 3, nn 7-8; Φοῦλ Β. 2004, p. 151).

The later literary elaborated concept describes them as “the first-born offspring of Uranus and Gaia” or as souls bearing winds (after Φοι 2004, p. 150-151 with analysis of the written records). Summing up, the perception of the primordial ancestral spirits could be considered as similar to the concept of the relict or historical personalities– the heroes, whose divine or semi-divine nature have been ritually or literally mythologized in the course of the ideological development of the Greek polis (Antonacio 1995, p. 267-268; Hall 2002, p. 93-98). Similar process is evident in the literary treatment of a range of the Thracian mythological figures - the king-heroes, prophets and *anthropodaimones* Rhesos, Orpheus etc. (Fol V. 2005). The basic trends of the creation and development of such type of images and ritual practices originate probably in the Mycenaean past, but they are also evident within some later archaeologically complexes in Thrace. Thereby hangs also the introduction of the term “Mycenaean Thrace” as a designation of the long-living and vivid “Mycenaean” tradition and ritual practice in Thrace (Φολ 1998, p. 107-118; Φολ Β. 2003, p. 238-241; Fol V. 2005).

However the search of complete coherence of the literary narratives and the archaeologically attested situations seems to be more or less tricky matter. This approach has much in common with the contextual archaeology promulgated by I. Hodder (Hodder 1987, p.10) and followed in some extent by C. Antonaccio, who argues that “the contextual approach opens new possibilities of understanding meaning by emphasizing the context of ritual action and its traces in the material record. Context includes regional variation and similarities, offerings and actions made in a variety of circumstances, preserved written sources and historical frameworks” (Antonaccio 1995, p. 9).

Exploring the confrontation between written records of epic and/or of mythological hero worship and the material traces of ritual activity at different localities in Greece, the author has demonstrated the rarity of hero cult before the archaic period. On the other hand there is a clear “concern for extended rituals connected with the dead and a great deal of evidence considering drinking and feasting as an important social institution in the Iron Age” (Antonaccio 1995, p. 197). Further examination of the question leads to the conclusion of certain continuity of the practice for reusing or placing offerings in the Mycenaean tombs as manifestation either of a type of local hero-cults or as ancestral worship with the most prominent example in the “aristocratic” tomb of Lefkandi (Antonacio 1995, p. 199-220).

The next important point in this connection is that the tomb cult, especially when seen as a manifestation of hero cult has been connected most probably with the “loss of the stable power structure” and thus far intended to establish a connection with the ancient inhabitants and to avert the anger of the anonymous power in the land (Antonacio 1995, pp. 6-7 with references). Following this general trend of the studies and the information given by the archaeologically and written evidences of all three categories – tomb –, hero cult and ancestors’ worship, one of the most plausible suggestions concerns the process of their literary convergence. In addition the latter is explicitly attested in the case of the three-sided complexes in Eretria, on the Athenian Agora and of the Archegeion on Delos, considered either as heroöns or as cult places of the collective ancestors – the *Tritopatores* (see in Antonaccio 1995, p. 263 ff; Ekroth 1998, p. 119). This convergence is also evident in the text of Selinous’ sacred law prescribing sacrifices to the Tritopatores, which are the same “as for the heroes” (A 9, after Jameson, Jordan, Kotansky 1993).

Taking this into consideration and in the light of the above argued absence of clear difference between the Olympic and chthonian sacrifice (see last in Ekroth 2000, 263-279), there is no reason to consider the meaning of καταγίξιν and θύειν as defining the “marked and “unmarked sacrifices” (for further comments see Scullion 2000, 164-165, supra 4). The

most plausible interpretation seems to be in the concept that both verbs are intended to designate the sequence of the ritual action as they were described for instance in Selinous' text – first to perform the purification of the “polluted Tritopatores” (*katagidsein*), after which there follows the sacrifice to the “pure Tritopatores ... as to the gods (*thuein*) (A 13 – 17).

The type and the sequence of these ritual actions give one more point of comparison with the rituals in the Thracian pit sanctuaries. The most plausible reconstruction based on the sacred law of Selinous and on the interpretation of the archaeological situation offered so far, outlines a range of purificatory rituals, such as blood sacrifice and libations of liquids into the ground (pit) to the “polluted *Tritopatores* as to the heroes” followed by regular *thysia*-like actions to the pure ancestral spirits “as to the gods”. A clue to understanding the meaning of this ritual is provided by the passage in Porphyry. (de ant. Nymph. 31), quoting Pherecydes of Syros, who mentions recesses, and dens (pits), caves, gates, and ports¹, meaning in a riddling manner the passage of the souls to and from earthly existence (see the comments in Scaford 1986, p. 13; last in Φολ Β. 2000, p. 20-21; Fol V. 2003, p. 239-250). According to Scaford this idea could be considered as deriving from ritual, probably similar to that of several Greek mysteries, which may well have involved the caves, ditches and gates listed by Pherekydes (Scaford 1986, p. 13-14). As it was demonstrated, the eventually ritual origin of this concept could give some clue to the interpretation of the pit structures attested in Thracian context being an essential instrument associated with the transformation and contact between this and the Underworld.

At this point the idea coheres in generally the Hittite practices, which, even representing spatially and chronologically distant cases provide striking analogies with our recent subject. Several texts discussed recently by Collins describe a number of ritual actions addressed to the Dark Earth Goddess and the *Anunnaki* – the Primordial Underworld deities (see Collins 1995, p. 224-238). Usually they were performed out of doors and communication achieved by means of pits dig into the ground in response to a specific problem. The most prominent reference to the significance of this ritual element is given by the inclusion of the Pit (*Api*) among the gods of the Underworld, which is not so much a testimony of its divine status as it is a recognition of its extra-human power to connect the realm of the gods with that of the man (Collins 1995, p. 225). The pit has been considered to serve a number of functions in Hittite ritual: as a channel for the chthonic deities and as a door through which they receive offerings; as a way of insuring fertility of the earth and humans; as a means of disposing of impurities by consigning them to the earth as an offering or finally to attract the deity to her new home (Collins 1995, p. 226). Concerning the animal sacrifice in which the blood has played significant role, the most common victims were lambs, sheep and piglets – the latter giving the main reason for drawing “tantalizing” parallels with some of the practices attested within the Greek *Thesmophoria* and the Eleusinian mysteries (see Collins 1995, p. 237-238).

To go further on, it seems also acceptable to extend the diapason of Collins' arguments and to point at certain similarities with the above described practices in the Thracian pit complexes, which may have an origin in the common set of ideas developed in a process of the well attested Thracian – Anatolian interrelations since the earliest periods in their history.

In the light of the analogies given so far, several conclusions are possible. The rituals attested in the Thracian pits are most probably related and addressed to chthonic deities, but they also have to do somehow with the notion of the primordial ancestors – *anthropodaimones* and

¹ τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκύδου μυχοῦς
καὶ βόθρους καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος καὶ διὰ
τούτων αἰνιττομένου τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν γενέσεις καὶ ἀπογενέσεις ...

Lords of the inhabited lands. The latter could be considered to be reminiscent of the concept of the heroes created and ideologically elaborated in the course of the Greek polis development. There are several additional facts that speak in support of this.

The first one is implicit in the possibilities to establish a territorial relationship between pit sanctuaries, settlements and necropolises existed on one and the same place. In some of the cases there are very important observations made by the excavators. Several examples as those in Troyanovo, Debel't, Drama, Staliyska mahala etc. point at the consecutive existence of earlier settlements and later pit sanctuaries or at a co-existence of pits and necropolises as well (Бонев 1996; Лихардус et al. 2001, p. 181, fig. 60; Господинов, Костова 2005, p. 54-55; Божкова, Ников 2005, p. 74; Нехризов, Валентинова 2006, p. 144 – 145; Тонкова, Миков 2006, p. 166 – 167).

Accordingly one may suppose, that the rituals attested in the pit sanctuaries were probably intended to purify and to sanctify certain territory, which was believed as belonging to the ancestral spirits. Therefore they need to be propitiated by libations, animal and blood sacrifices as “to the heroes” in order to realize their transformation and regeneration – an idea which is comparable with the notion given by Pherekydes. After that the new-born pure spirits shall be worshiped “as gods” according to terminology of the Selinous sacred law. The second motive could be searched in the need of self-definition of the community, which confirmed ritually its autochthony by means of the described rites. The most substantial proofs in support are some particular finds, which are common to the inventory of the pits. Those are the clay remains originating from every part of the house, wall-plaster, fragments of portable hearths etc. (summarized in Георгиева et al. 1999, p. 171; for the last attested examples of similar practices see in Нехризов, Валентинова 2006, p. 144; Тонкова, Георгиева 2006, p. 164-165; Тонкова, Миков 2006, p. 166-167). To this category belong probably some special vessel's fragments with stamps or inscriptions referring to the eventual names of settlements as this from Debel't (Балабанов 1999, p.74, fig. 16) (**Fig. 6**).

Following this trend of interpretation, the cases in which only parts of human skeletons or single skulls have been attested (Балабанов 1999, p. 69) could be considered as a symbolic act of lying to rest the ancestral relics. This suggestion does not contradict the statement that they may represent a type of precautionary measure against a harmful dead, who lies unburied (Георгиева 1999, p. 227; Georgieva 2003, p. 318-319). There is although worth to note, that the *anthropodaimones* – the lords of the land are also able to get the community in trouble if they were not appeased by sacrifice.

The next group of finds, which according to some opinions represent typical “objects of the cult”, such as the roughly shaped clay figurines, dices etc. allows to be interpreted in the same context. Their rare occurrence, as pointed out by some scholars, is not as surprising as it was considered to be (Балабанов 2002, p. 542). This type of objects evoked special interest among many Bulgarian scholars from the 50th years of the last century onwards (Миков В. 1958, p. 657 – 671; Тачева – Хитова М. 1971; Теодосиев 1990; Фол 1991, p. 83-95; 114-120; Теодосиев 1992).

In the course of my recent study on the problem it seems that the most plausible clue to their interpretation is not simply in their shape (as in Теодосиев 1990, 1992), but in the act of their modeling and depositing in a particular context (Коннова 2004; Коннова 2005). Working down figurines of clay (mud, soil) is significant of the ritual purification by itself, as referred also by the Hittite texts (Collins 1995, p. 227-228). The act of lying them into the pit could be compared – although with certain reservations, with the whole set of actions, described in the orphic narrative about the Argonauts as well (for interpretation see in Фол 2002, p. 120-122).

The text gives an account of the rituals performed by Orpheus – not the singer, but the magician, intended to appease the mighty chthonic Artemis – the guardian of the gate, behind which the Golden Fleece has been kept, by digging up a tree-feet *bothros*, by throwing grains and/or roughly molded figurines (?) (Коновва 2005, p. 153).

It is however a matter of fact that exploiting the similarities between the literary tradition and the archaologically attested traces of rituals is more or less speculative matter. Thus the more sophisticated approach relay undoubtedly upon the comprehensive analysis of the whole set of finds in the context of the rituals in each particular complex. From this standpoint the definition of the roughly modeled figurines and of other finds as “typical cultic objects” sounds less convincing, since the rest of the finds situated in pits can change their utilitarian meaning and function on a ritual level (see in Osborn 2004, 1-10). Therefore the appearance of “cultic figurines” in single complexes could be considered as a manifestation of the singularity of the magical act of modeling, i.e. discerning and denoting of the creative divine nature, responsible for the organization and renewal of the Cosmos. On the other hand the act in itself must have represented an equivalent of the ritual purification by means of the divine unity with the ancestors.

Further on considering the coincidence of the initial period of existence of the pit-sanctuary by Debelt with the establishment of the colony Apollonia Pontica and the finds of imported ware, one of the plausible views is that the complex represents one of the “meeting points” between the new settlers and the natives, where the former continue to adopt rituals which are very close to the ancestral cults in Hellas itself and on the other hand - to the polis concept of the heroes taking shape exactly at this time. The ritual actions, which have been performed by them, were intended not only to appease the ancestral spirits – the lords of the land, but also to provide a kind of sacral sanction of their autochthony in the newly settled territories by “performing the rituals according to the ancestral custom” and thereby creating a new “past” for themselves as well as a new social and religious reality, after the words of C. Antonaccio (Antonaccio 1999, p. 121).

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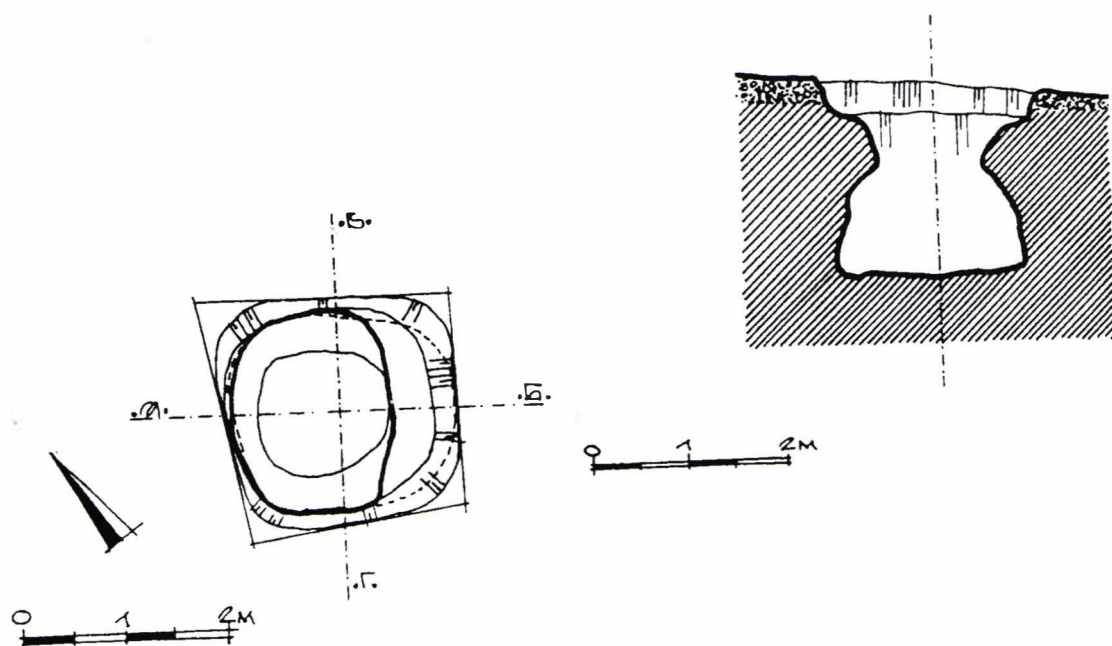


Fig. 1. Map of the pit-sanctuaries in Bulgaria.

Fig. 2. Plan and cross-section of the ritual pits from Debel't (after Balabanov 1999, fig.9).

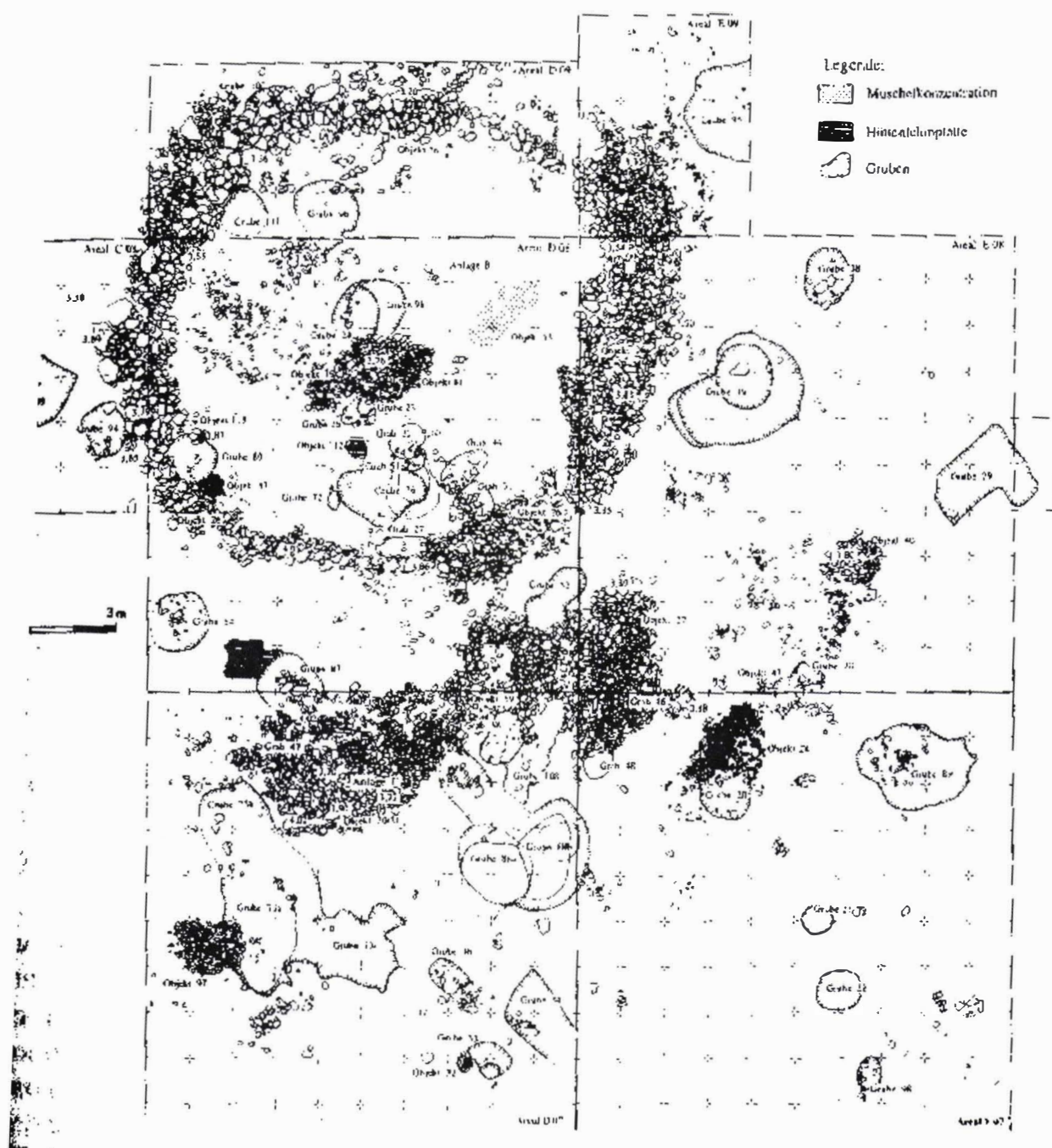


Fig. 3. Plan of the structure B in the place Drama-Kairyaka (after Lichardus and al. 2001, p. 137, fig. 47).

One of the round strutures with ritual pits
on the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo (after Morris at al. 2002)

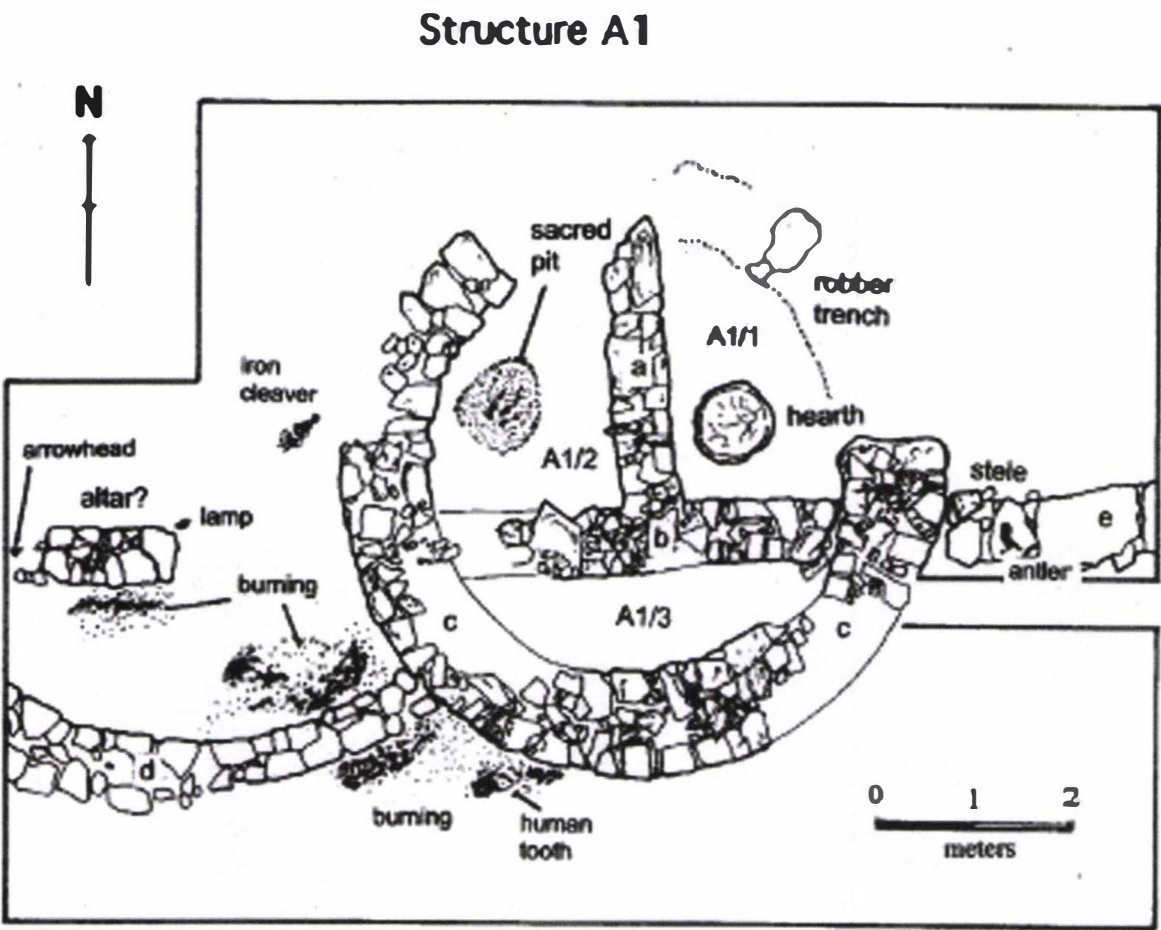


Fig. 4. The round structure A with the ritual pits in the Acropolis of Monte Polizzo (after Morris and al. 2002).

Hollow altar for libations and ritual pit in the Athenian Erechtheion
(After Ekroth 2000, 275, fig.1)

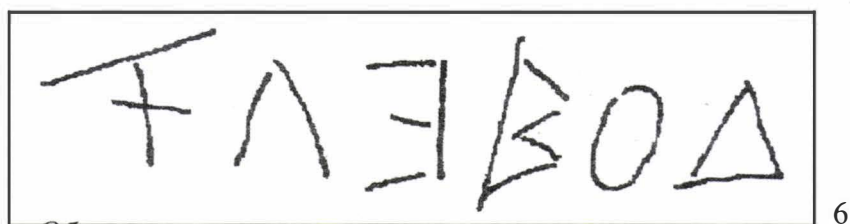
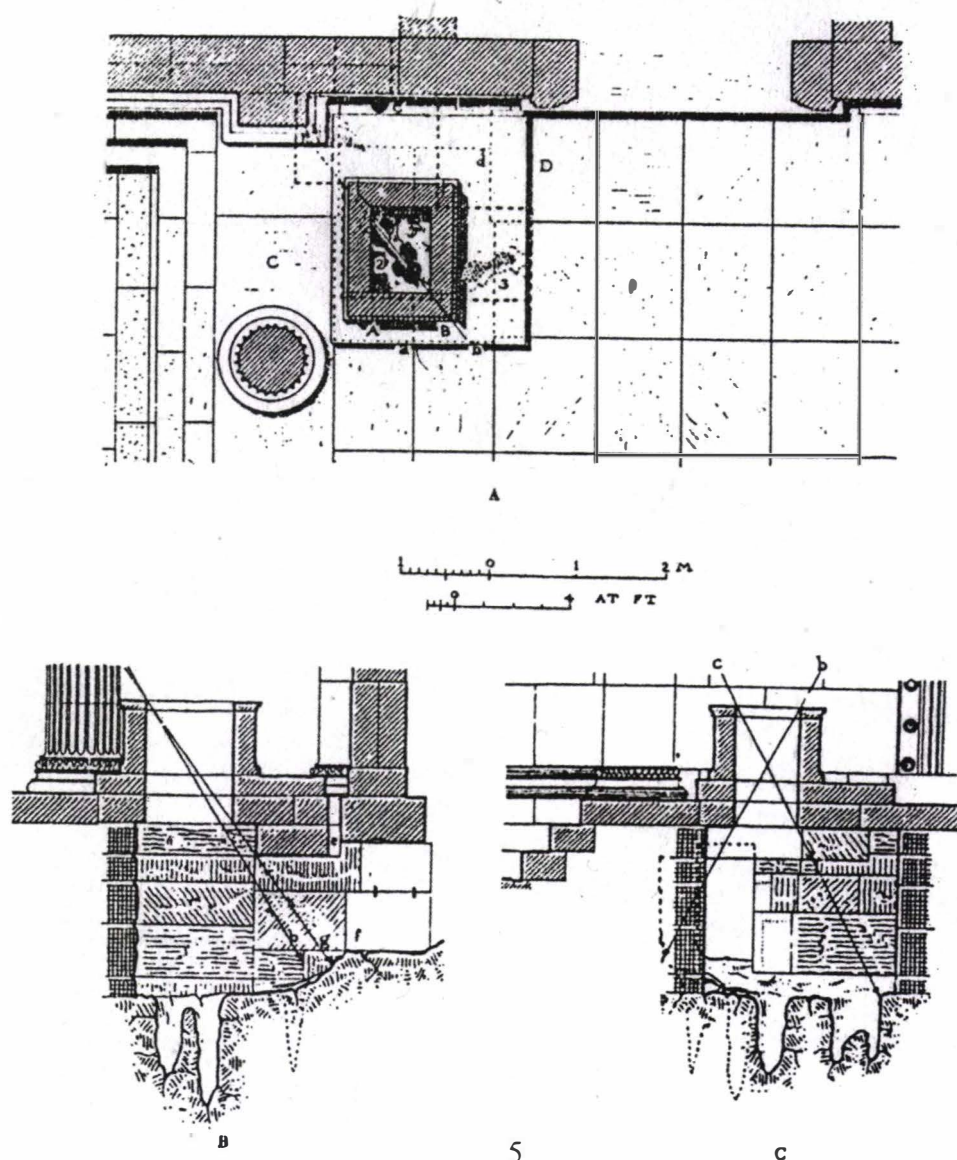


Fig. 5. Hollow altar for libations and ritual pit in the Athenian Erechtheion (after Ekroth 2000, 275, fig. 1).

Fig. 6. Graffito inscription with the name of the settlement near Debel (after Balabanov 1999, 74, fig. 16).

SANCTUARIES OF SARMIZEGETUSA REGIA (GRĂDIȘTEA MUNCELULUI), HUNEDOARA COUNTY

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Key-words: Dacians sanctuaries, temples, Sarmizegetusa Regia, foundation, limestone.

Abstract. The sanctuaries, true temples of the geto-dacian antiquity, represent their ingenuity, the talent and skills of the builders of these large dimension cult edifices, with a special architecture. Almost every fortification' structure and architecture, regardless its character, includes sanctuaries, too. These sanctuaries have a rectangular shape, looking like a a line of limestone or andesite plinths, or simple or complex circular one. The specialized literature works have mentioned so far about 35 sanctuaries. There are 26 linear sanctuaries known and 9 circular ones.

The settlements and fortresses of Sureanu Mountains, known as „ Dacian fortresses of Orastie Mountains” are located within the central and West mountaineering sector of Southern Carpathian mountain chains . Most of fortresses are concentrated around Gradistea or Apa oreaului river which is a tributary of Mures river.

The ruins of Sarmisegetusa Regia the glorious capital of the Dacian state are situated on a rocky height called “Piciorul Muncelului” at 1000 m above sea level. Here, we found the sacred zone with sanctuaries – religious constructions achieved once Sarmisegetusa importance growth. They were erected since Burebista until Decebal king reign, on two hill terraces situated North –East from the fortress (Pl. I). There were 11 sanctuaries of which 9 were rectangular type – and two circular type and besides it, there is also the Andesite Sun¹.

The number and glory of the sanctuaries indicate that it is about the saint “Kogaionon” mountain mentioned by Stabon.

*The big limestone sanctuary*² (Pl. II) was identified on the XIth terrace during the archaeological campaign of 1951. It was sinvestigated during the following years, including 1979-1981, as a result of the preservation and restoration works from Sarmizegetusa Regia. The ramp with the sanctuary situated South –East from the spring is NE-SW oriented and keep four construction stages.

Looking upside down, this is a Roman construction made of wood placed on a stone layer overlying the levelled remains of the sanctuary after destruction when the fortress was fired and conquered by the Romans in 106 AD. This level was found at about 1m depth.

The second level belonging to the Dacian phase is only 0.35m beneath the Roman one where we found the traces of a sanctuary made of andesite pillars placed on a substruction made

¹ Antonescu, D., *Introducere în arhitectura dacilor*, București, 1984; Crișan, I. H., *Spiritualitatea geto-dacilor*, București, 1986; Glodariu I., Iaroslavschi E., Rusu A., *Cetăți și așezări dacice în Munții Orăștiei*, București, 1988; Glodariu I., Pescaru Rusu A., Iaroslavschi E., Stănescu Fl., *Sarmizegetusa Regia - capitala Daciei preromane*, Deva, 1996; A Rusu-Pescaru, *Sanctuarele Daciei*, Deva, 2005.

² C. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA V, 1959, p.395-399; MCA VI, 1959, p.357; MCA I, 1961, p.304-305; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.207; I.H. Crișan, *op.cit.*, p.176-185; H. Daicoviciu and colab., MCA 1980, p.161-163; MCA, București, 1983, p.233; MCA 1986, p.115.

of mud binding stone (**Pl. III**). In the middle of the surface outlined by the andesite pillars, there were 7 limestone pedestals with average diameter of 1.30 m and 0.20-0.25 m thick, supported by a „foundation” made of unfinished stone mixed with earth (**Pl. IV**). The ramp of the Northern side constituting the access to the sanctuary seems to have been on this level. The ramp was 2m wide and made of limestone blocks.

To the Northern side, close to the end of the access ramp, the archaeological investigations identified another “foundation” trace, which could have been the 8th trace on the seven pedestal alignment in the middle of the terrace.

The next level (**Pl. III**) is at 2.85 m depth where there were found four rows of limestone pedestals each having 13 *in situ* parts of sizes similar to the preceeding ones, namely 1.30 m diameter and 0.20-0.25 m thick. On the surface of some pedestals there were noticed circular hollows of 0.50-0.80 m diameter, traces representing the diameter of the wooden columns erected on these pedestals. To the West, on a substruction similar to the one where the andesite pillars of level 2 were placed, there occurred the traces of seven wooden pillars of 0.50-0.80 m diameter, and to the East there are two pillars plus four traces with average diameter of 0.40 m. The distance between the wooden pillars was 2m,. These last four traces found in 1980, led to the conclusion that the wooden pillars were on all the four sides of the sanctuaries. It is always then that it was noticed that the limestone pedestals were placed on „foundations”³, dug as cones in the terrace filling material. (**Pl. IV**). They had a maximum diameter of 1.60-1.85 m and were 1.60-1.90 m deep (**Pl. IV**). These „foundations” were made of stone and mud and the space inbetween depended on the space between the pedestals, as they constituted the resistance system of the pedestals on which the wooden columns were erected. The investigations performed 1980 – 1981, to the East side of the sanctuary revealed the trace of foundation no.14 from the pedestal row. The 15th „foundation trace” was destroyed by the previous digging operations when the Northern side wall elevation was checked at the sanctuary finding. It is admitted that in case of this edifice construction level, it is about a sanctuary made of 4 rows of 15 columns each. So, we have a sanctuary with 60 columns spaced 3.20m between the rows and 2.50m between the columns (interaxis). To the South side, the terrace hanging wall is doubled by another 1.30m thick wall. In parallel with the wall at 2,55 m from it, there is a similar one but its thickness is 1,08 m. These two rows of walls bordered the access stairs to the sanctuary and this stairs is made of limestone slabs ending in front of a ramp situated at 0.40 m above the terrace wall corresponding to the smoothing level of this construction phase (**Pl. III**, 2). It is obvious now, that the pedestals from the 2 rows (the 14th and 15th) were dismantled and re-used for the construction phase together with the 8 pedestals in the middle of the sanctuary and andesite pillar enclosure. The last level noticed at 4.40 m depth consists of a row of 3-4 limestone block groups with either cross or triangular shape disposal (**Pl. III**, 1). They were found on the East side of the sanctuary terrace. At the same time, there occurred on this direction some lens⁴ achieved as semi-spheric holes filled with mud bound unfinished stones constituting the foundation of the column supporting base.

The 41 x 13 m terrace where the sanctuary is placed, in a similar manner with all the terraces from here was arranged by the Daces and is supported by massive limestone block walls built up using the *murus Dacicus* technique. The terrace hanging wall of the large limestone sanctuary extend on the three sides (Northern, Southern and Western), the wall is 2.50-2.90 m thick and made of 11-13 block layers. From the South-East corner of the sanctuary,

³ H. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA 1986, p.105-106.

⁴ Idem, *op.cit.*, p.106 fig.1/3.

on the South – East to the North –West side, on the 2.40 m level the side of a rectangular shape tower starts. The tower is part of this first Dacian level from the sanctuary ramp.

Since its finding it was considered that it was an open sanctuary with columns erected on the limestone pedestals up to 1.50m high. Then, another „reconstitution”: is proposed that is a two level edifice, namely basement and groundfloor with porch, *cella* and roof, a system inspired by the Greek dipteral temple system combined with the pseudo-dipteral one⁵ (Pl. V). This opinion contradicts the Greek influence, but it maintains the idea regarding the existence of a roof and partly enclosed with wooden pillars and elimination of basement and other elements, such as porch, *cella*⁶ (Pl. VI). According to other opinions, there would be a reconstitution with wooden columns, roof and walls⁷ (Pl. VII).

Further to all the opinion review, it was concluded it was a sanctuary made of 4 rows of 15 column base each. Each of the pedestals is placed on a foundation which depth does not allow the presence of another construction at the basement. These foundations were necessary to take over the column pressure from the friable rock and particularly on the terrace filling. At only 0,80 m from the marginal row there is the trace row of wooden pillars which do not allow sufficient circulation space for the erection of walls along this distance. Thus, there still remains the possibility of an edifice made of wooden pillars supported by the mentioned limestone pedestals which, in their turn support a shingle roof, wood and the pillars constitute only the enclosure, a walking corridor around the sanctuary, and this is common for other sanctuaries, too. The access was provided by the steps of Southern sanctuary (Pl. III, 2).

Based on the above mentioned, together with eng. Lavinia Brătescu and arch. Richard Siller from the Design Institute of Hunedoara – Deva, we tried to redo this big limestone sanctuary from the XIth terrace of phase II with four row of fifteen pedestals each and wooden pillar enclosure (Pl. VIII), taking into account the structure and resistance elements.

The results indicate it is about a sanctuary which columns are 6m high.

The small limestone sanctuary was investigated between 1962-1963⁸ and is located to the South end of the terrace XI, between the big limestone sanctuary and the Ancient paved road (Pl. IX, 1). There is a limestone block proeminence which was partly covered with earth from the older excavations. Proceeding with the block removal, there was noticed the existence of a smoothing level, on which surface ceramic fragments and Dacian and Roman metal objects were found. Throughout the entire surface there were found significant traces of a fire hazard which at places, determined the soil red coloring. The large amount of limestone blocks indicated they were brought there or had fallen from the Ancient road parament, but anyway, they were not *in situ* and were neither part of a wall nor of a building substruction. This first level was probably contemporary with the second phase of the sacred constructions characterized by the andesite use. Thus, the presence on this level of the Roman materials is explained.

After complete cleaning of this level the digging operations continued and at 0.40m depth there was found a second level made of yellow-reddish mud. On this level, there were found limestone pedestals of the same shape and size like the big sanctuary ones, but they were arranged on three rows of 6 pedestals each (Pl. IX, 2). The sanctuary is NE-SW oriented.

⁵ I.H. Crișan, *Burebista*², p.391-395.

⁶ D. Antonescu, RMM 1, 1980, p.69-76; Idem. *Arhitectura*, p.51-66.

⁷ M. Strimbu, I. Glodariu, ActaMN XVIII. 1981. p.377-386.

⁸ St. Ferenczi, MCA X, 1973, p.65; H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia*, p.209; I.H. Crișan, *Spiritualitatea*, p.187.

Each limestone pedestal was placed on a foundation lens built in the same manner like the previous sanctuary and it demonstrates that there were also wooden columns for supporting the roof. All around this sanctuary there have not been found so far traces of some eventual enclosure pillars, but at the North-West corner there was found a threshold formed of limestone blocks (Pl. IX, 2). It is always on this sanctuary side that there was found a small size limestone slab channel.

The sanctuary found belongs to the first phase of constructions characterized by limestone use and so, it is probably contemporary with the big limestone sanctuary nearby. But it is 1,80m higher. It is noted that after abandoning the small limestone sanctuary, the land was no longer used for the construction of an andesite sanctuary like in the case of the big limestone sanctuary. Over the small limestone sanctuary after levelling operation, there were built only one or more fir wood buildings.

The andesite sanctuary of the terrace X-a (Pl. X, 1). The terrace X, situated to the West of terrace XI is 70m long and 40m wide and is bordered to the East and West by massive walls which separate it from the upper terrace IX and the lower terrace XI. The walls are carried out using the common *murus Dacicus* technique. The wall separating the terrace X from the terrace IX is 3.20 m thick, and two distinct elements are noticed: the presence at places of vertical slots on the wall face and a balustrade at its upper part.

The other wall separating the terrace X from the lower XI is a double wall. Both walls built in different stages are 4-5m high. The first wall built up in the first phase followed the land configuration, the angle broken line of the terrace X, after which, on a certain date there was built the second wall stuck to the first (Pl. X, 2). Both walls have two paraments measuring 2,50 m, and respectively 1.70 m. The second wall seems to be decorative, at its upper part there are blocks with Greek writing found all around. The investigations of the years 1951-1952⁹, indicated the existence there on the terrace X, of two sanctuaries one of limestone corresponding to the construction phase of the first terrace hanging wall and an andesite wall when the terrace was extended and the second wall was raised. On the sanctuary surface there were discovered 33 *in situ* andesite pedestals with variable 2,05-2,25 m diameter, and 0,35 m thick. They were arranged on four parallel rows, two from North-West side with ten pedestals and two from the South-East side with eight, respectively three pedestals and two on the sixth. The distance between the rows is approximately 4m, and the interval between each row pedestals is about 1.60 m.

At the construction of the andesite sanctuary there was used the same method like for the big limestone sanctuary of terrace XI. Thus, under the andesite disks supporting the limestones there existed a base, actually a hole filled with stones and mud which has the shape of a lower river bed; its upper diameter is 2.70m, and it is 1.28m high (respectively, hole depth).

The surfaces of the pedestals are well carved and smooth with small pockets except for about 0.30m of the diameter. The smooth part allowed the placement of a second element found at the column base. The base diameter is 1.20 m, getting narrower to 1.10 m and is 0.50 m high. They are characterized by 0.18 m high profiles at the lower part which assumes that up to this level, the 2 elements, namely the pedestal and the base, were in the ground.

On the first disk of the second row from the North-West side, there is a column base which upper part was destroyed (Pl. X, 1).

⁹ C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV II, 1, 1951, p.108-110; SCIV. III, 1952, p.292-296; SCIV IV, 1-2, 1953, p.156-164; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.210; I.H. Crişan, *op.cit.*, p.184-194.

Overlying these bases there were placed column drums which were made also of andesite and identified in different zones (edges of terrace XI, Roman bath, fortress wall). These drums are 0,92-1,18 m long and 0,81-0,82 m diameter. The difference between the diameter (uncertain) of the column base upper part (1,10 m) and the drum diameter are not an obstacle of the sanctuary constructive elements. Based on the pedestal size, the distance between them and the completion of a terrace hanging wall, there existed a large size sanctuary of 6 rows with 10 elements each, NE-SW oriented. In this case, the 6th row cross over the wall from the first construction phase, and the sanctuary was 37.50m long and 31.50m wide.

The lack of indicators referring to the height of the columns or other architecture elements, determined C. Daicoviciu¹⁰ to submit two hypothesis: either the sanctuary was not defined at the time when the war with the Romans started and we fully agree to it, or it is about an open edifice with high columns corresponding with the size of the drums found around, proposing even a reconstruction of the alignments (**Pl. XI, 2**). The idea was taken over by H. Daicoviciu¹¹ which complete it by placing on each column an andesite large vessel for sacrifices paid to the gods (**Pl. XI, 3**).

As for this sanctuary of 60 columns it is to be noted that on its West side, but not parallel to it, there was found a wall of limestone blocks which is considered as ‘a fence’ because it would have been at least 3 m high and were not filled with stone and earth material. Parallel to it, at 6m, there is the terrace wall. To the South –West corner of the terrace X there were found large stone carved troughs starting in this zone and continuing on the terrace XI below the East end of the paved square.

Limestone sanctuary from the terrace X. In 1951¹² there was noticed the existence of a sanctuary older than the one with the andesite columns.. This sanctuary enclosed by limestone pillars (Pl. XII) occupied a 37,50m x 26m terrace surface area, extending to the first terrace wall of the first construction stage (inside). On this sanctuary level, besides ceramic remainings, no other particular vestiges were found.

The pillar and corner blocks were placed on limestone slabs of 0.60m wide and 2.30m long and 0.10m thick. The pillar shape must have been rectangular. The corner block kept to the N-E side has a strange shape, with a “L” cut where a wooden pillar for roof supporting could have been placed. We think that inside this limestone pillar enclosure, there were the limestone pedestals similar in shape and size with those of Costesti. The analogy is based on such pieces identified in the Roman wall of the fortress. It is always there that a square limestone ramp was found but its role is not known, probably it was an altar. The sanctuary was NE-SW oriented. At the West side of the sanctuary, the row of the limestone pillars is interrupted over 5m long x 1.30m wide surface area and it could have been an entry to the sanctuary.

The rectangular constructions from the Northern part of the terrace may be related to this sanctuary. Given that from the limestone sanctuary of the terrace X few elements were kept, it is only assumed that it was contemporary with the small and big limestone sanctuary from the terrace XI.

The big quadrilateral andesite sanctuary¹³ is situated at the North end of the terrace XI (**Pl. XIII, 1**). It has a rectangular shape with a N-S oriented 13.5m long side. Only a few andesite rectangular pillars (0,22 x 0,18 m) of about 0,60-0,70 m high were kept. At the corners,

¹⁰ C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV III, 1952, p.295.

¹¹ H. Daicoviciu and alli., *op.cit.*, p.210-211.

¹² C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV 1-2, 1953, p.158; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p. 210; I.H. Crișan, *op.cit.*, p.188.

¹³ C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV II, I, 1951, p.118; III, 1952, p.287-288; MCA VII, 1961, p.303; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.210; I. H. Crișan, *op.cit.*, p.195.

the sanctuary was provided with larger stronger pillars with plugs at the upper part. The size of the three rectangular pillars is 0,42 x 0,43 m, 0,45 x 0,45 m and 0,47 x 0,50 m. The plugs are 0.26m high and 0,26 m thick (Pl. XIX, 2). At the South side the pillar row is interrupted by a ramp made of limestone blocks and covered with slabs of the same material which penetrate over approximately 1m inside the sanctuary. The ramp is 1.55m wide and it is at approximately 0.10m from the pillar of the South – West corner of the edifice. Inside there are only five constructive elements, two rectangular 0.58mx0.58m elements and three circular 0.52m diameter element. They are arranged on 3 rows and it would have meant that the sanctuary was constituted of three rows but we cannot specify number of the columns or inside pillars. At the West and North sides the sanctuary is bordered by the hanging wall of the terrace X at a certain distance.

*The small quadrilateral andesite sanctuary*¹⁴ is situated to the North side of the terrace XI between the big quadrilateral andesite sanctuary and the small circular sanctuary. The sanctuary is 12 x 9,20 m and it is N-S oriented (Pl. XIV, 1). It is bordered on the four sides by andesite pillars with the 0,22 x 0,18 m sizes, approximately 0,60-0,62 m high introduced at approximately 0.20m in the ground and 0.22m spacing. Their upper part is destroyed but it is likely that they were plug ended. At the corners there are four large size pillars, three rectangular pillars which side dimension ranges between 0.45 m and 0.60 m, and the one from the NW corner pillar is circular with a 0.46 m diameter and 0.55m high. Each pillar kept part of the end plugs which were about 0.25m wide and thick and cover the entire pillar width.

Inside, there are three rows of columns with six elements each. At present fragments of 16 columns with 0.68-0.70m diameter are kept. There are five fragments of column on the first two North –West rows and six fragments on the East third row. Each of these columns is placed on a stone and earth layer constituting the foundation and this structure is similar for the other sanctuaries, too. The space between the columns is 1.50 m along the North –South alignment and 2 m wide on the East –West direction. But the distance from the columns to the row of enclosure pillars is different (Pl. XIV, 2).

To the South, at the outer side of the sanctuary towards the West corner of the andesite pillar row there is a 1.50 m wide wall made of limestone blocks with supports for the sanctuary entry ramp (Pl. XIV, 4). On the opposite side, at 0,72 m inside the sanctuary and at only 0.18m from the pillar row, there is 0.48 x 1.70 m slab constituting the inner threshold of the entry. The ramp and the threshold are connected by a wood step bridge above the andesite pillars between the ramp and threshold. At the East side of the ramp, close to it, but centered on it, there two limestone blocks with a rectangular opening each at their middle part.

The block spacing is 1.13 m and thus it is possible to access the sanctuary from the East side too. Certainly, the andesite plug ended pillars represented an enclosure balustrade of the sanctuary. The entire pillars must have been 1.20-1.35 m size. Wooden elements fixed with the plugs raised from the corner pillars and inside columns and they supported a two ridged shingle roof (Pl. XIV, 3).

The reconstitution and resistance calculation of the sanctuary structure were carried out together with eng. Lavinia Brătescu and arch. Richard Siller. This sanctuary columns may have been 5m high as resulted from the structure and resistance calculations.

¹⁴ C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV II, 1, 1951, p.117-118; SCIV III, 1952, p.287-288; MCA VII, 1961, p.303; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.209-210; I.H. Crișan, *op.cit.*, p.194-195.

During the archaeological investigations of the sanctuary there were found several limestone blocks which determine us to assume there existed a *quadrilateral limestone pedestal sanctuary*¹⁵, elements identified in the fortress wall zone.

The big circular sanctuary is located on the XI terrace from Gradistea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Its complete investigation and cleaning was conducted by C. Daicoviciu between 1950 and 1958 (PI. XV, 1). Since then it was established that it was a construction¹⁶ consisting of three concentric circles and in the middle there was an absyde construction. The maximum diameter is 29,40 m. The first circle, namely the outer one, consists of 104 large andesite blocks, arranged one by the other and forming a close ring. Each block is 0.80-0.90 m long, 0.47-0.50 m thick and 0.43-0.45 m high and at its lower part there is a rim representing for sure the smooth level. Near it at the inside part there is a second circle of 180 narrow and 30 wide pillars also made of andesite. The pillars of the second circle are arranged in groups of six pillars each followed by a wider one (PI. XV, 4).

There were probably end square plugs at the upper part of the narrow pillars (PI. XVI). They were approximately 1.20-1.35 m high at 0.50-0.60 m at least above the Ancient level. Their width and thickness range between 0.18-0.24 m. The 0,50 x 0,21 x 0,52 m pillars outer face is slightly convex and the space between two successive pillars is 0.12-0.13 m. At approximately 3.65 m from the inner stone row there is another circle, but this time it includes 84 wooden pillars¹⁷, which diameter at the ground level is 0.40 m and they are 0.35-0.40 m spaced. These pillars were 1.40-1.60 m deep in the ground. At each pillar base there is a limestone block like the ones of the wall construction and they supported the pillar to prevent its subsidence. The pillar part in the ground was mostly circular shape, and the part above the ground was four edges carved allowing the construction of a wall made of mud. Ring ended, triangle shaped, round big head or rectangular end bolts were fixed on each pillar. Inside every pillar hole, at its strongly burnt part, there were found between 11 and 23 such bolts; some of them were up to 0.40-0.50 m long and they were surely used for hanging the offerings.

Unlike the stone circles, the circle of the wooden pillars is interrupted by four thresholds marked by limestone blocks threshold constituting the entries to this space. The threshold size of the entries one and four is 1.30 m, and 2.20 m for entries five and six. The number of wooden pillar between the four thresholds are as follows: between P₁ and P₆ - 20 pillars; between P₁ and P₅ - 19 pillars; between P₆ and P₄ - 22 pillars and P₄ and P₅ - 23 pillars. This circle diameter is 20 m (PI. XV, 2).

At the central part of the sanctuary there were 34 wooden pillars forming an North – West oriented absyde. The pillars, similarly to the preceding circle, were fixed in the ground at approximately the same depth and also they were supported by a limestone block each. The absyde plan was interrupted by two entries, namely two and three (on the direction of threshold 1 and 4 from the pillar circle), which were 1.30 m wide. During the 1957 and 1958 investigation campaigns there was found a rectangular fire place¹⁸, made of river round stones bound with yellow mud and crust surface. It is 1.50 x 1.35 m and it is located inside the wooden pillar circle,

¹⁵ C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV II, I, 1951, p.118.

¹⁶ C. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA IV, 1959, p.336-337; MCA VII, 1961, p.303; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.235-260; I.H.Crișan, *op.cit.*, p.200; H. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA 1983, p.232-234; C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV, I, II, 1951, p.115-117; SCIV III 1952, p.283-287.

¹⁷ Numărul de 84 de stâlpi a fost stabilit în urma degajării în suprafață a sanctuarului, în anul 1980, cu prilejul lucrărilor de conservare-restaurare. Până la acea dată era cunoscut un cerc de 68 de stâlpi, ce a permis diverse interpretări asupra obiectivului, în special acela de calendar.

¹⁸ C. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA VII, 1961, p.303; H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia*, p.240.

near the entry 6. At the outer part of the sanctuary while cleaning the surroundings, at the entrance no.1 at 0.60m from the andesite block row, there was found a limestone 2.30m side slab which for a long time, was considered the edifice entrance. Later on, in 1984, the archaeological investigations conducted around the sanctuary revealed the existence of another 1.50m wide East –West oriented ramp made of limestone blocks, in a similar manner to the one used for the Dacian wall, situated at 1.20m from outer andesite circle, between the threshold one and six. The access was provided by this ramp and then a wooden stair crossing the andesite pillar balustrade (**Pl. XV, 3**).

The investigations conducted on this terrace including the sanctuary, namely of the terrace XI at the Northern part, revealed traces of human living at 2m beneath the level of the big circular sanctuary which was built after the artificial raise of the older terrace. The low level was probably at the same level like the big limestone sanctuary from the terrace XI.

Since its finding in 1951, several attempts have been made to reconstruct the objective. It was considered as an open edifice, then according to interpretation, it was a Dace calendar based on the andesite pillar grouping 6+1 or a real sanctuary. It is sure that it is a religious building from the sacred precincts of Sarmizegetusa Regia. In 1951, architect Horia Teodoru tried to redo the monuments from the sacred precincts of Grădiște (**Pl.XI, 1**). By that time, the idea of some open temples was prevailing and the reconstruction consisted only of simple wooden pillar emplacement¹⁹. H. Daicoviciu maintains his opinion of reconstruction, but actually it was about only an elevation transposition of the field data²⁰ (**Pl. XVI**).

The architect Dinu Antonescu, convinced that at Grădiștea Muncelului there are no „*sub caelo*” sanctuaries and that there were indoor monument edifices, proposed the reconstruction of the sanctuary²¹ (**Pl. VII**). He collected the data from the excavation reports and indicated that the two circles were above the sanctuary level by 0.20-0.25m and thus there could be created a continuous water bearing sealed rim. To eliminate this it would be required a canalization system and either the building complete roofing or the raise of the sanctuary level. Architect D. Antonescu imagine the sanctuary as an monument edifice consisting of a platform gallery raised by about 0.40-0.50 m compared to the Ancient level, paved with stone slabs bordered, at their outer part by a strong andesite base and a balustrade formed of 6 regularly arranged balusters with 30 access ways. The edifice itself would have had wooden roof and walls. At the outer part, the sanctuary walls would have been marked by a row of squared pillars covered with ceramic plates up to the roof. No doubt, it is a closed and covered building, but the proposed reconstruction does not consider several elements, such as the construction material found during the investigation and that is why we think that the temple should have looked differently.

The currently available elements allow us to plead for the existence of an edifice with three rooms. The finding of the wooden pillars fixed in the ground and supported by limestone blocks and moreover, the occurrence of an amount of binding mud are the most significant evidences of a cone shaped roof raised up to 5-5.50 m high supported by the walls made of the wooden pillars .

Like for the other sanctuaries investigated on the “sacred zone” terraces, there was no element found to allow us to speak about the presence of a different floor type, but mud floor. It is true that all these edifices were destroyed by the Romans, but traces of it should have been

¹⁹ C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV II, 1951, p.112; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.235-237.

²⁰ H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.237.

²¹ D. Antonescu, SCIVA 4, 1980, p.499-517; *Arhitectura*, p.71-88.

found anyway during the investigations. So we still sustain the idea of mud leveling of the entire sanctuary surface, that is at its smooth level.

In this case, it is necessary that the roof covers the entire construction preventing at the same time, the formation of mud during the rainy or snow weather in the circular gallery. Consequently, the roof was supported by pillars or wooden columns which were raised on the wide pillars of the second stone circle. The high andesite pillars, the six ones, were in their turn, connected inbetween by a wood girdle comprising the roof pillars, too (Pl. XVIII). Thus, the circular gallery allowing the entrance to the gallery was formed through the 4 entrances and then through the absyde, to the other one. The walls of these two rooms were made of wood pillars and mud binding material mixed with chaff.

The small circular sanctuary²² was identified in 1950 and the investigations started in 1952 on the terrace XI near the big circular sanctuary, but North from it at about 18m. A circle consisting of only one row of andesite 12.50m dia. pillar was formed (Pl. XIX, 1). The pillar lower part was destroyed and thus their height is variable.

The andesite pillar circle of the sanctuary was formed of 114 pillars, of which 13 were wider and 101 narrower. Among them, the wider ones disappeared except for a single one, the location of the others being obvious by the holes left behind in the sequence of the narrow pillars. The 114 pillars were arranged in 13 groups, 11 groups of 8 narrow pillar each and 1 wider pillar, a group of 7 narrower pillars and 1 wider pillar and a last group of 6 narrow pillars and 1 wide pillar (Pl. XIX, 2).

The pillars were arranged on a well compacted mud floor with no base or pedestal. Their sizes are given below: the narrow pillars are 0.60-0.70 m high; their width ranges between 20.5 cm, 20.8 cm and 21 cm; the thickness being constantly 15 cm. Most of the original elevation of the narrow pillars which should have been about 0.90-0.95 m, was stuck in the ground, the remaining part rising above the Dacian level of the sanctuary. The sizes of the wider pillars are: 0.39 m high, 0.44 cm wide, 0.18 m thick. These, as it can be seen from the only piece kept, had no plug end like the narrow ones, but they were smooth surface ended. They were stuck into the ground up to 0.10m depth, and the distance between them was always about 0.10 m.

Inside the sanctuary there was formed a smooth compacted mud floor where, a thin 7-8 thick layer of fir wood burnt coal was noticed. The burnt material traces are more obvious at the circle periphery and become less obvious to the central part, but they do not disappear. Along the diameter, on the East – West direction there were 3 (maybe 4) 0.35m diameter wooden pillars which traces are still preserved and they were at 0.30- 0.40m beneath the Dacian level. The holes are filled with burnt coal and earth. Overlying the original sanctuary floor, at about 0.10-0.20m above, there is a new burnt material and compacted floor with limestone slabs which cross over the andesite pillars, too, and with Roman tiles and some vessels. The oval hole of the Southern part of the circle seems to belong to this construction, too.

In 1978, the investigations inside the sanctuary were resumed and the traces of several wooden pillars were found, but together with those found in the preceding excavations, are not enough to reconstruct the sanctuary.

The andesite sun. Near the big circular sanctuary, at its North –West side there was found a “circular paving” which was called “the andesite sun” or the “solar disk”²³ (Pl. XX, 1).

²² C. Daicoviciu and alli., SCIV, 1-2, 1953, p.153-156; MCA VI, 1959, p.336; MCA VII, 1961, p.303-304; H. Daicoviciu, *op.cit.*, p.260-263; I. H. Crișan, *op.cit.*, p.208.

²³ C. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA VII, 1961; MCA VIII, 1962, p.466-467; I. H. Crișan, MCA X, 1973, p.62-63.

The paving made of andesite consists of a 1.46 m dia. central disk and ten 2.76m long rays. The entire circular paving is 6.98m diameter, and the ray width is not equal, but the differences are several centimeters. The paving thickness is 0,30 m.

The monument was not entirely preserved, five of the rays being more or less destroyed. At 0.45 m from the outer edge of the rays, there are made 10.5-11.5cm long, 5.6-8cm wide and 3-4cm deep rectangular slots which are arranged parallel to the outer edge of the pavement. There are about 6-7 slots in a ray; sometimes a slot is overlying two rays. The poor preservation condition of the pavement did not allow the determination of the total number of slots. The lower part of the dolomite stone carved as "T" shape penetrate the slots (Pl. XX, 3).

At the South part of the pavement overlying two rays, there was a circular fire place of 1.05 m diameter placed directly on the pavement (Pl. XX, 2). Its central part is at about 2.30 m from the central part of the pavement. The floor crust is mostly damaged by the earth and stones caved on the pavement later; it could be fixed at places. Pig bones and fine ceramic fragments were found at the fire place. It is possible that it was placed on the pavement after its destruction and for other purpose than the religious ceremonies of the Dacian priests or maybe this pavement was exactly the solar altar and the fire place served for sacrifices; this hypothesis is related to the existence of a big limestone 1.03m long block dug as a wash basin – with an opening directed to the channel – found on the edge from the channel construction approximately in the middle of the trough portion forming one and single body with the disk sub-structure.

Unfortunately, almost half of the „andesite disk” is destroyed and it is exactly the part from the channel and only a small portion of each ray was preserved. The poor preservation of the monument at this part is explained by the fact that rays 5,6 and 7 covered the channel, and there was nothing leaning against their outer edge.

A limestone block “arrow” starts from the “andesite disk” and this arrow is N oriented of the I d.Ch century. On some blocks of the arrow there are marks of which one coincides with the equinoxes²⁴.

The sanctuaries, real Geta – Dacian Antiquity temples represent the talent and skills of builders to erect such cult large size edifices and for completing a particular architecture. Almost each fortress regardless its nature, comprise sanctuaries. These sanctuaries are rectangular of the limestone or andesite circular simple or complexe pedestal type.

The specialized literature specifies a number of 35 sanctuaries found so far on the old Dacia territory (Pl. XXI). 26 sanctuary of the alignment type are known and namely: Costești four, two at Blidaru, one at Piatra Roșie, nine at Sarmizegetusa Regia, one at Bănița, three at Piatra Craivii, two at Căpâlna, one at Racoș, one at Barboși, two at Bâta Doamnei; and the second category – the circular ones – includes 9 sanctuaries and namely: three at Sarmizegetusa Regia considering the andesite sun, too, one at Fețele Albe, one at Pecica, one at Racoș, one at Brad, one Dolinean (?), one at Butuceni (?) .

The components of the cult edifice, mainly the pedestals were directly placed on the terrace rock or on foundation carried out by digging some cone shaped lens filled with river stones and clays in the terrace filling material, in order to reinforce the land.. The wooden columns were raised on the limestone pedestals and they supported the ridged wooden and shrindle roof; for the andesite bases, the column drums were made of the same material.

For almost each sanctuary two or even three construction phases are known.

²⁴ Fl. Stănescu, ActaMN XXII-XXIII, 1985-1986, p.105-129; Fl. Stănescu, în I. Glodariu, E. Iaroslavschi, A. Rusu-Pescaru, Fl. Stănescu, *Sarmizegetusa*, p.237-268.

Only at Sarmizegetusa Regia, the older limestone pedestal sanctuaries are replaced by the andesite base ones. At Sarmizegetusa Regia there exist also two andesite sanctuaries which joint together the columns and pillars of the same material. It seems that the construction stage of the limestone sanctuaries corresponds to the period of Burebista and his successors, and the second phase, namely the andesite construction seems to be contemporary to the kings of the I AD century or even to the second half of I AD century and Decebal reign.

The pedestals and part of the column were stuck in a mud filling layer which constituted the smooth level, respectively the pavement of the edifice. The archaeological investigations did not find any other element that could be used for this purpose, like for instance stone slabs.

Besides the data related to the resistance constructive system, the presence of roof is indicated by the ramps from the sanctuary entrance carried out using the same well known Dacian wall technique. These ramps were provided with a stone slab paving for walking like for instance at the big andesite sanctuary from the XIth terrace or a wooden floor which followed the sanctuary direction and an entrance step was present.

The recent finding of some new construction elements allowed us to rebuild from architectural point of view some sanctuaries. With the time, they were considered open places with circular stone pedestals where 1.20m-1.50m high columns could be erected. Their sizes were determined based on the columns which belonged to the big andesite sanctuary from the X terrace and which had not been finished by the time of Sarmizegetusa Regia conquest.

These cult edifices were usually located outside the fortress itself except for the *intra vallum* sanctuary of Costești and provided it was a sanctuary, the one from Racos which was investigated and which are inside the fortress. They were raised on terraces especially arranged by the man, in the rock which constituted the height where the fortress was built.

I. H. Crișan in his work entitled „Burebista and his epoch” expresses, as an hypothesis, the idea that the aligments constituted of pillars supporting the roof of a “wood Greek type, slightly modified”²⁵ temple (Pl. V). It is difficult enough to believe it, as there was found neither floor and nor stone foundation (stereobat) and ramp (stilobat), which are typical elements of a Greek temple construction. The burnt coal layer resulted probably at the temple burning, once the fortress was fired, did not indicate the existence of wood amount which could have constituted the structure of the great monument. Generalizing it for the other sanctuaries of the same type, too, the erection of such an edifice by the Daces would have supposed the existence of a cult of the Greek gods and there has not been found any evidence of it so far. In case of the big sanctuary from the XI terrace of Sarmizegetusa Regia which reconstruction was attempted, the existence of a basement as well as the diminution of the column number for the upper level seemed impossible to us. Even if the stairs of this zone constitutes a turn²⁶ from the South side ramp, it cannot be considered as the entrance level to the temple because the vertical distance between the limestone pedestals and the ramp is only 0,60 m²⁷, and it is too low to exist there an underground room. The analogy with the „sanctuary – palace”, found at Ocnița²⁸, an edifice formed of three underground rooms, dug in the rock, overlain by three rows of columns is not likely, particularly because the edifice is only mentioned during review of the materials found in the said settlement. So, we cannot say what its destination was and it does not fit in the already known constructions.

²⁵ I. H. Crișan, *Burebista*², București, 1977, p.415-421.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p.391.

²⁷ C. Daicoviciu, MCA VI, 1959, p.339.

²⁸ D. Berciu, SCIV 3, 1974, p.386; Apulum XIII, 1975, p.616; *Buridava*, p.66-67.

An analysis of the alignments was made by M. Babeş²⁹, too, and he considered it a Greek peristyle temple. It is to be reminded that the peristyle is a group of columns near the laic buildings. Provided that the name was accepted, the column appearance indicate their construction technique and namely according to *Vitruvius* the height of the columns must be equal to the porch width, and the space between the columns should not be smaller than three times the column diameter and neither four times bigger³⁰. The column sizes and the space between the column rows do not match with our columns and moreover outside the column rows there is no other edifice related to them.

Taking into account the archaeological findings from the big limestone sanctuary from the terrace XI from Sarmizegetusa Regia, the architect Dinu Antonescu³¹, made an attempt, for this construction phase with 60 columns, the reconstruction of a wood collonnade with ridged roof (Pl. VI). D. Antonescu shows the three sides of the hanging wall of the terrace while the West side represents only the row of wood pillars of the sanctuary enclosure and delimitation. In the author's representation, the East side pillars have not been shown so that the terrace sanctuary surface remains "a gallery open up to the front side of the edifice columns".

Another reconstruction which included also some walls enclosing the sanctuary sides at a certain distance from the collonnade has been made by M. Strîmbu and I. Glodariu³² (Pl. VII).

The enclosure with the lateral walls along the wood pillar alignment the gallery is eliminated. As the distance from the wood pillars to the columns is 0.80m we think that the respective pillar row is only an enclosure which is found also at the limestone sanctuary of terrace X and the two rectangular andesite sanctuaries from the terrace XI.

Besides the quadrilateral alignment type sanctuaries, there investigated circular sanctuaries from the Dacian firtresses and settlements. The construction issue is raised for them too.

They look like being built as a single circle of wooden or stone pillars and the complex sanctuaries constituted of several "precincts" or "rooms".

In case of the circular sanctuaries, namely the big circular sanctuary of Sarmizegetusa Regia, the resistance elements are relevant. Each wooden pillar is of an edifice is supported by a limestone block stuck at about 1.40-1.60 m depth so that the pillar stability above the ground is ensured so that to support, in their turn, a roof leaning on the wood skeleton walls.

As for the circular sanctuaries, there were promoted several opinions regarding their astronomy and calendar significance. Again, for the circular sanctuary of Sarmizegetusa Regia it is to be noted that from the very beginning the 6+1 grouping of the andesite pillars, together with its 30times repeat, was interpreted as an illustration of a semester of the 360 day year.

Taking into account that the other Ancient peoples used a 365 day calendar, the Dace one was corrected by the pillars of the inner circle formed of 68 wooden pillars, actually 84 84³³, but they were counted by deduction as it had not been found the entire surface of the sanctuary by the time of the hypothesis promotion and neither have the 34 pillars of the absyde.

If, in an initial stage, the hypothesis was justified, later on there were submitted many opinions but they were groundless exaggerations. The cycle interpretations, the measurements based on modern calculation methods regarding the archaeological pieces of the sanctuaries,

²⁹ M. Babeş, SCIV, 2, 1974, p.236.

³⁰ Vitruvius, *Despre arhitectură*, Bucureşti, 1964, p.101-113.

³¹ D. Antonescu, RMM 1, 1980, p.69-76; Idem, *Arhitectura*, p.65.

³² M. Strîmbu, I. Glodariu, ActaMN XVIII, 1981, p.377-386.

³³ H. Daicoviciu and alli., MCA 1983, p.232-234.

their relations, assume the existence of more centres of the calendar system, make useless the speculations if the new archaeological findings are not considered.

The archaeological investigations undertaken so far for the quadrilateral or circular sanctuaries did not succeed to identify any relation of the sanctuary type and a god worshipped by the Get-Dace population.



DRAWING I. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Sanctuary terraces



1

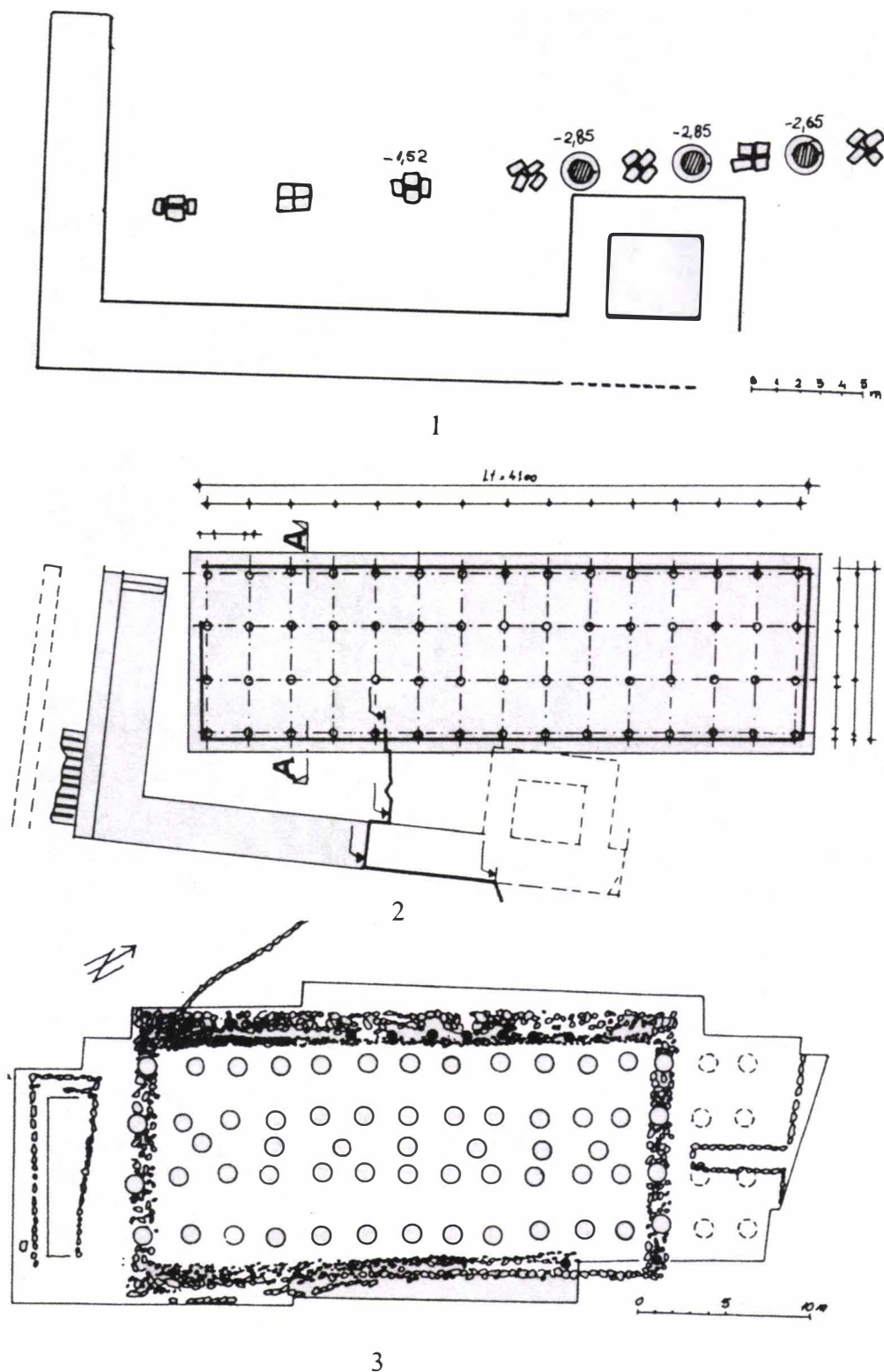


2

DRAWING II. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia.

1. Photo Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace;

2. Photo The sanctuary after the reinforcement preservation work completion



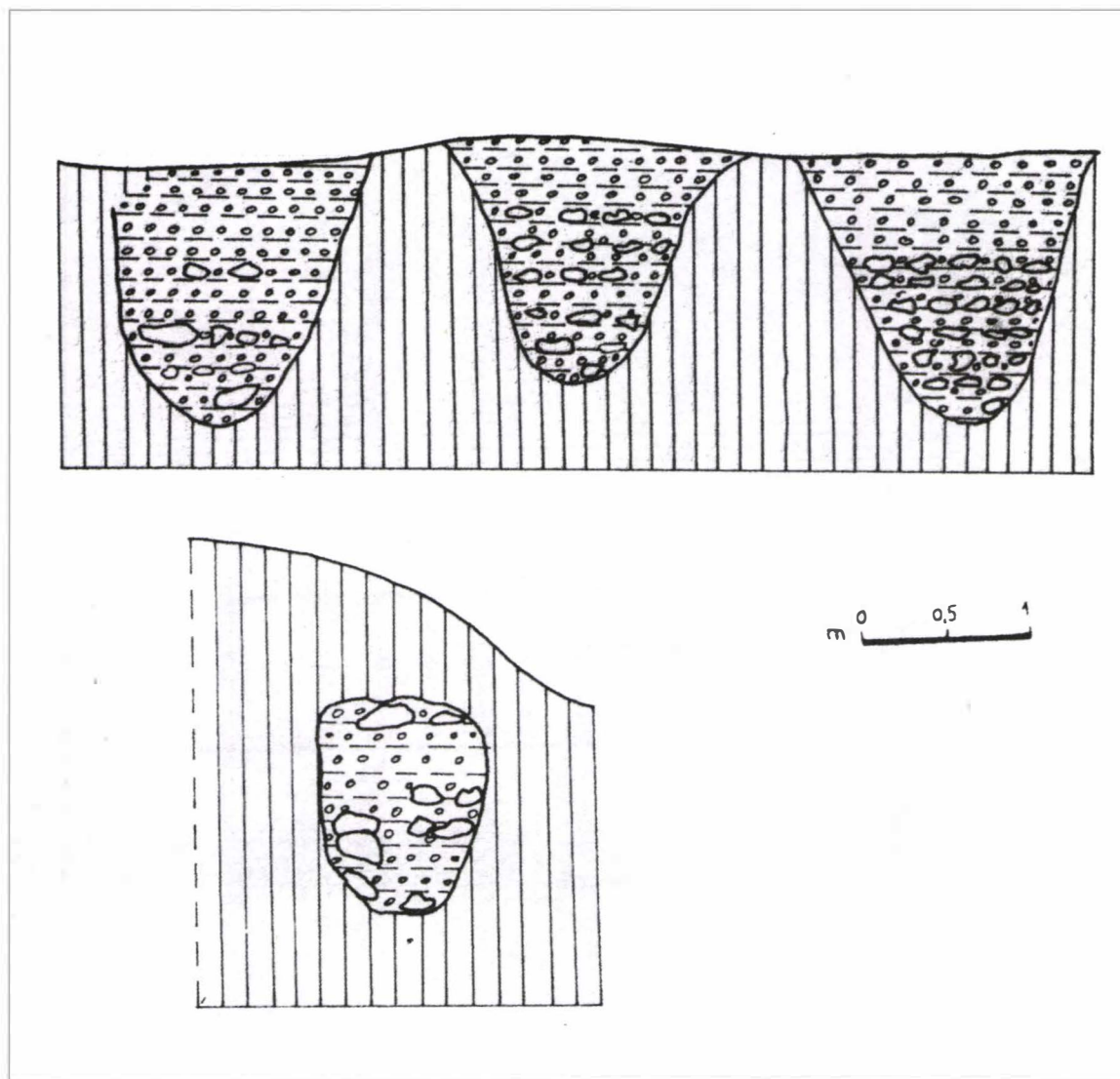
DRAWING III. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1-2-3. Plan Reinforcement stages



1

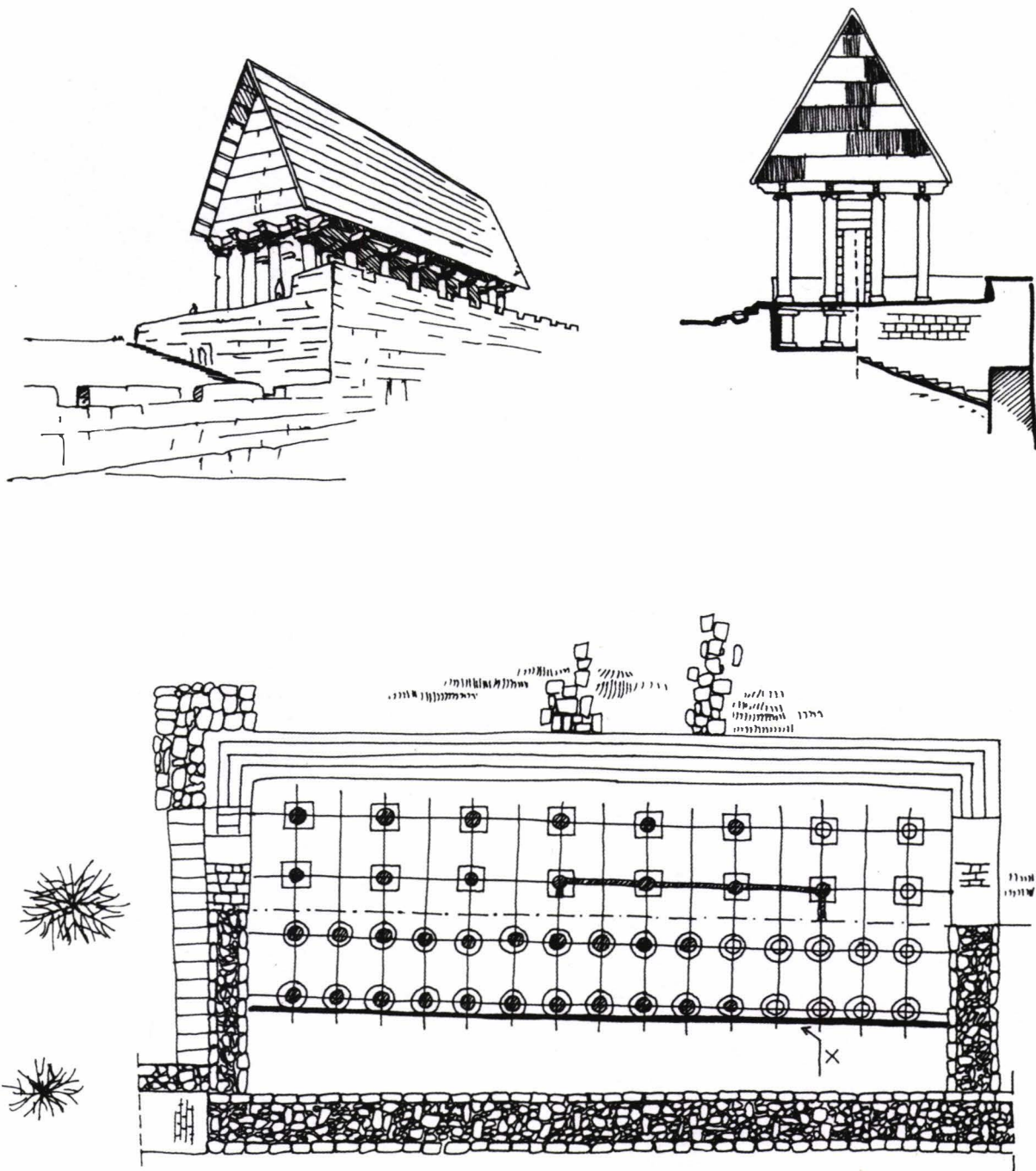


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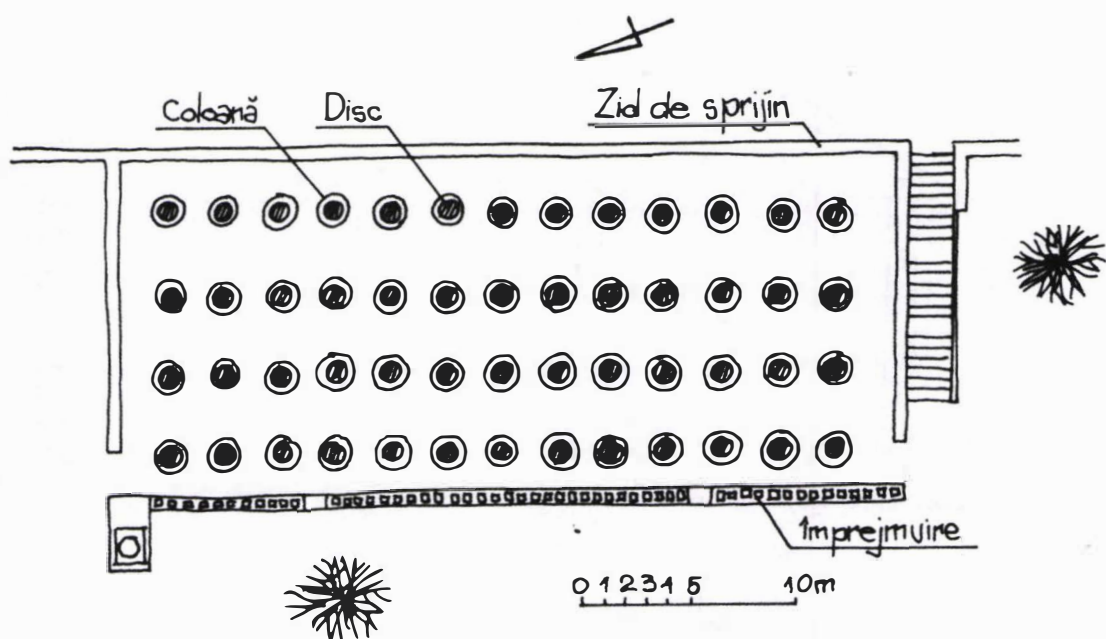
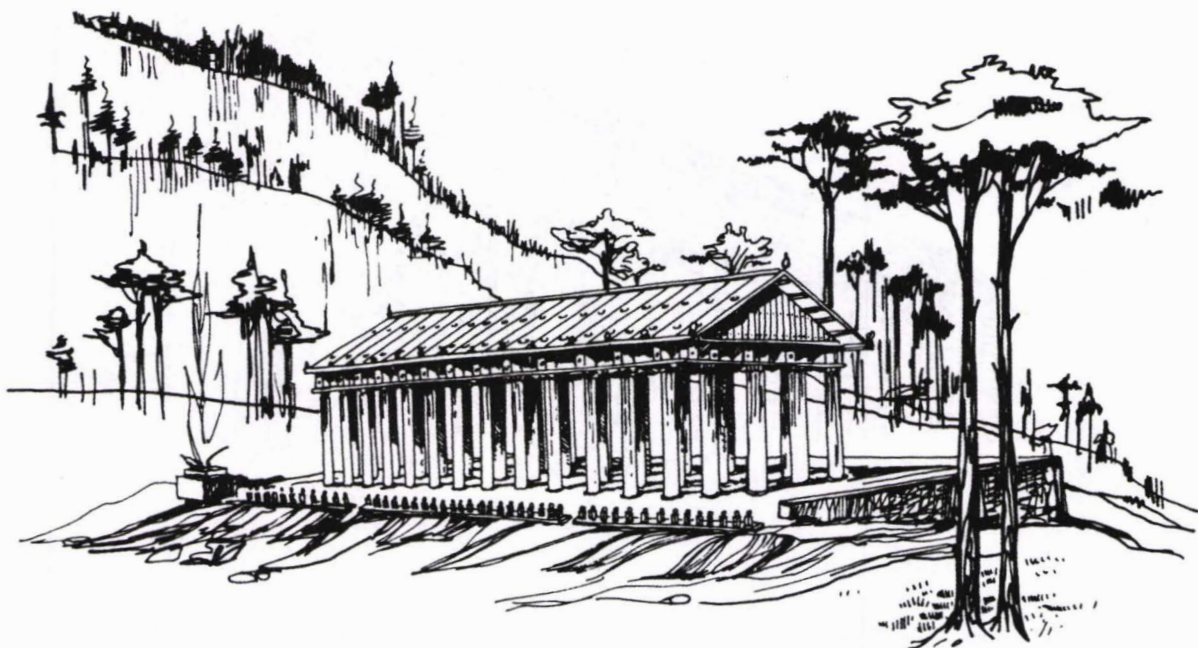


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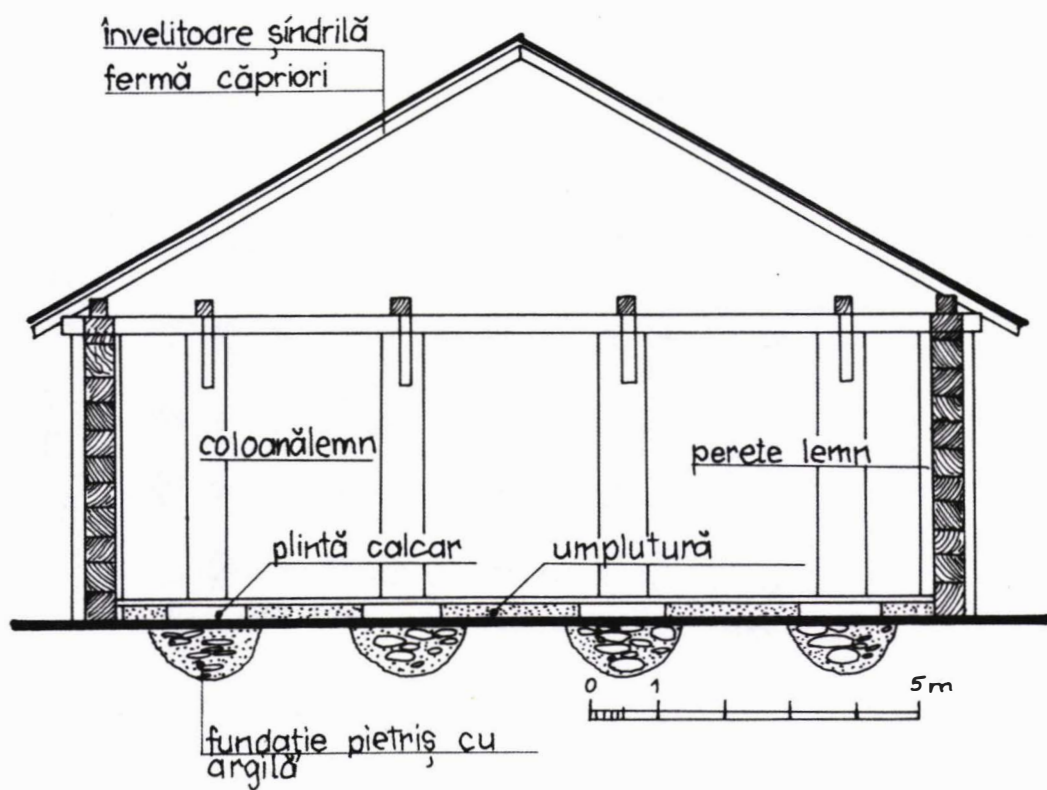
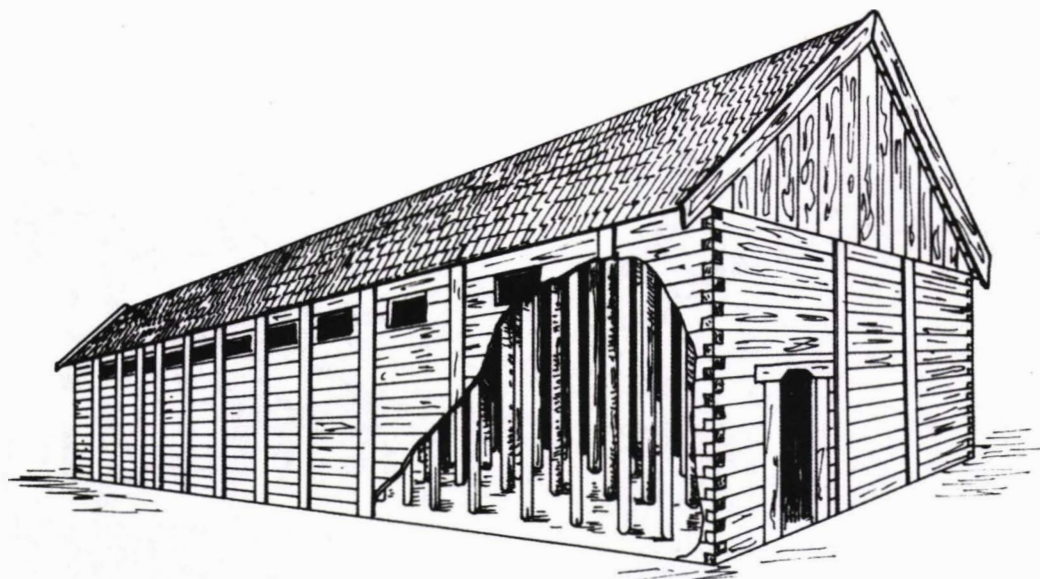
DRAWING IV. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1. Foundation lens aerial view; 2-3. Plan cross sections



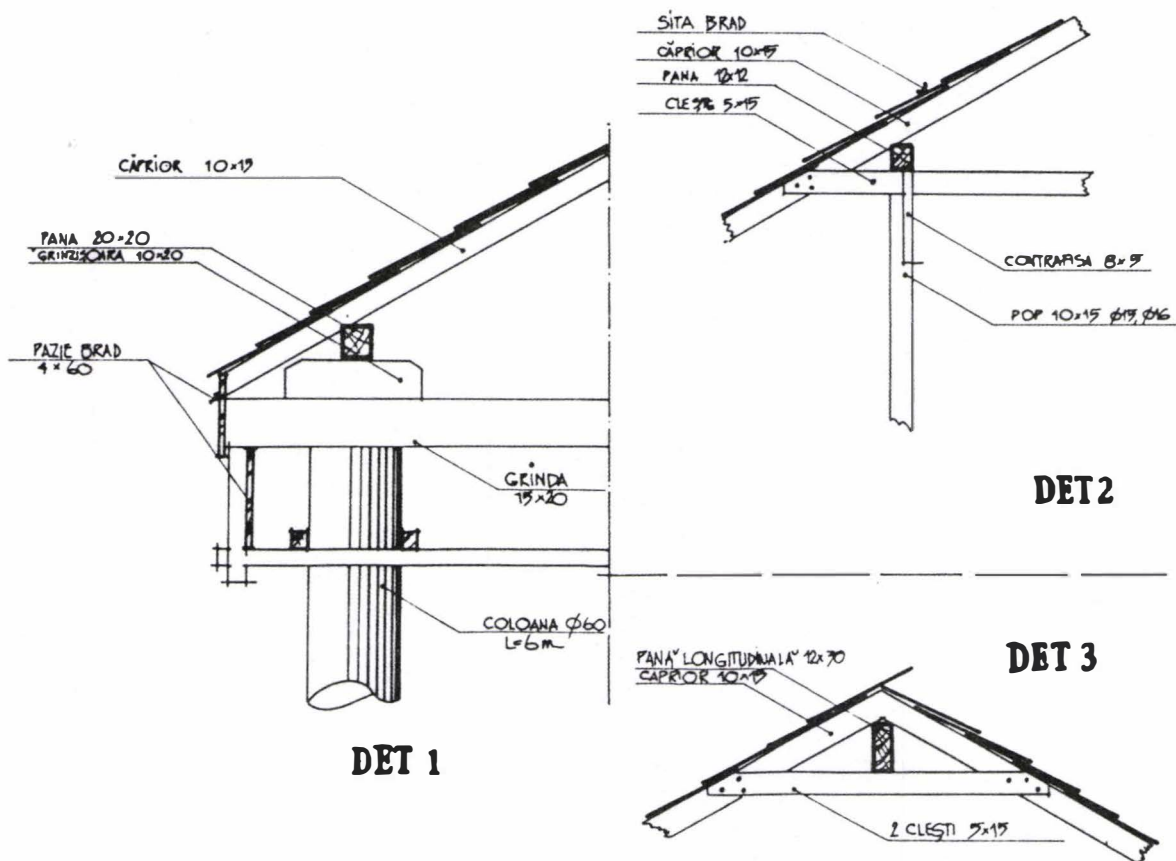
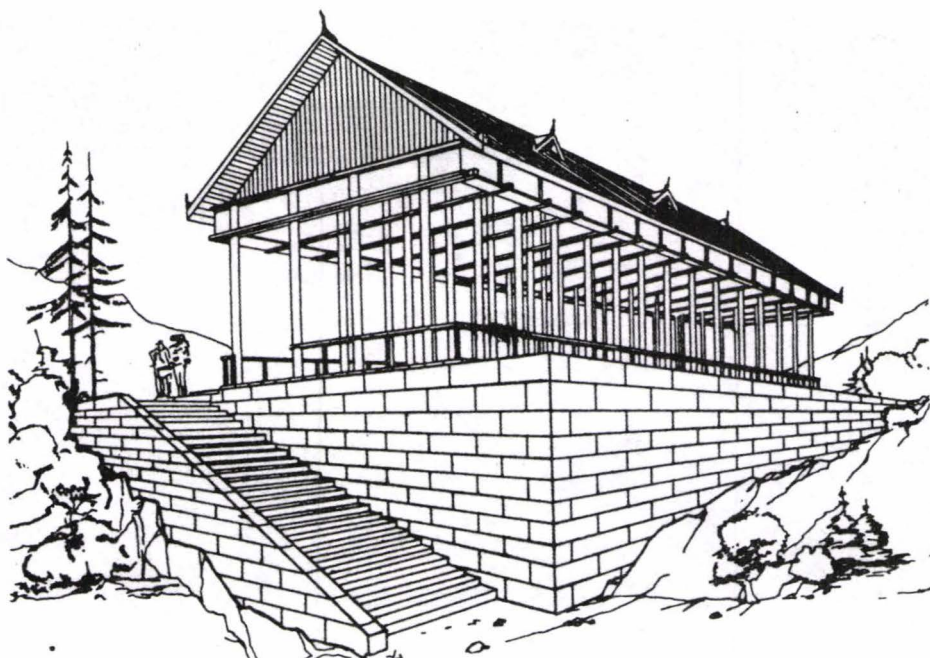
DRAWING V. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. Proposal for reconstitution (acc. to I. H. Crișan).



DRAWING VI. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. Proposal for reconstruction (acc. to D. Antonescu).



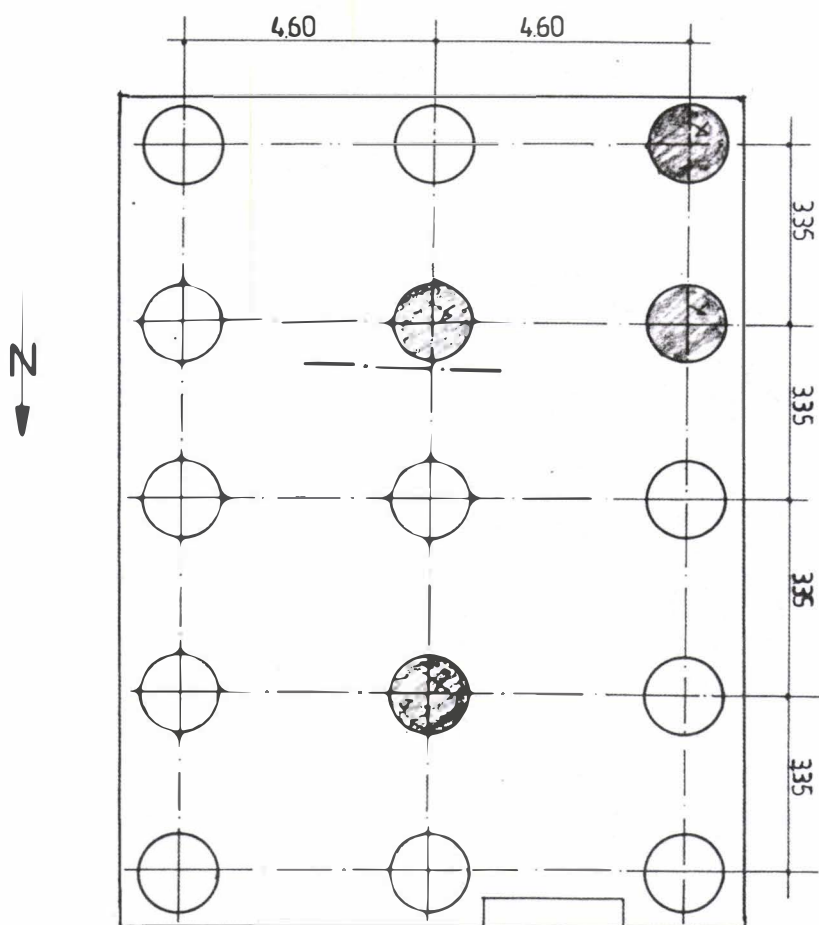
DRAWING VII. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. Proposal for reconstruction (acc. to M. Strâmbu and I. Glodariu).



DRAWING VIII. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. Proposal for reconstruction and construction details.



1

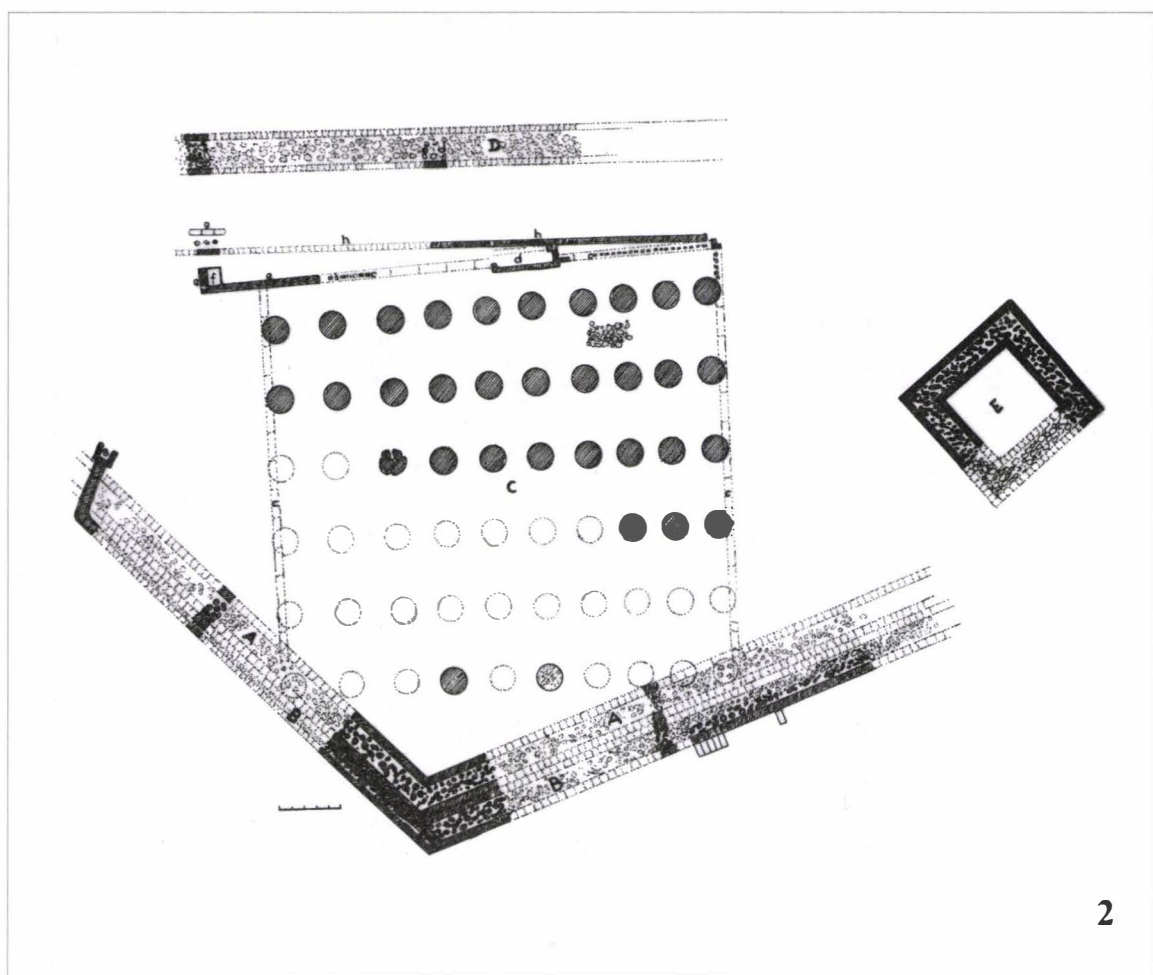


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DRAWING IX. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Small lime sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1. Photo; 2. Plan.

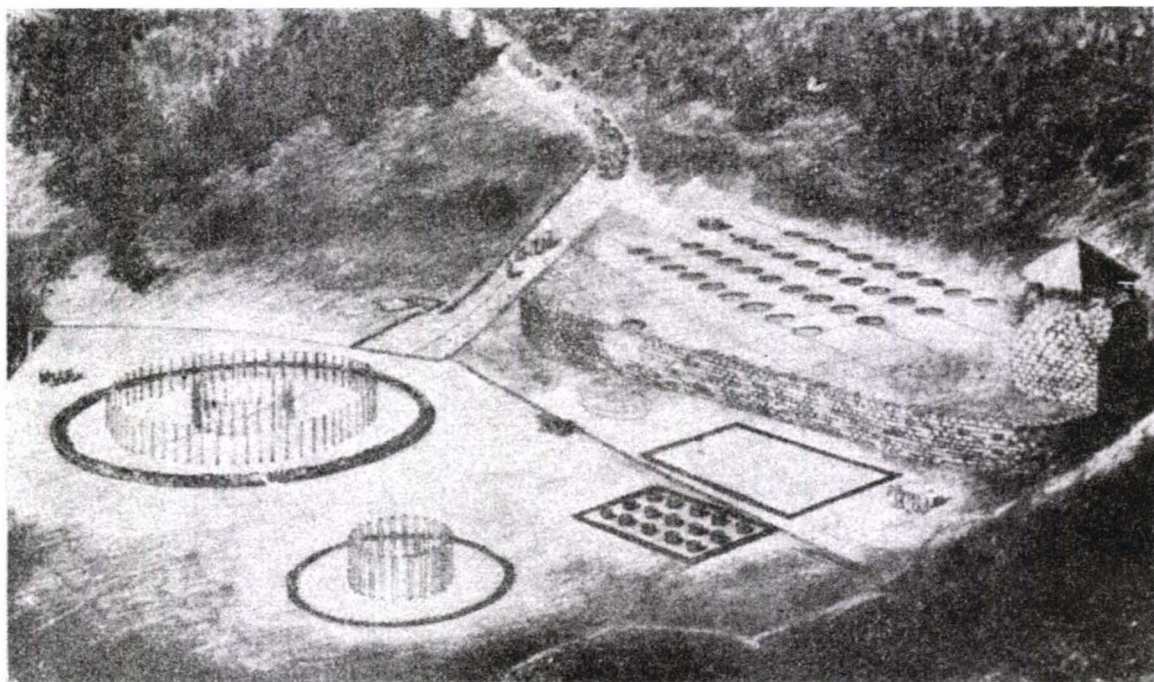


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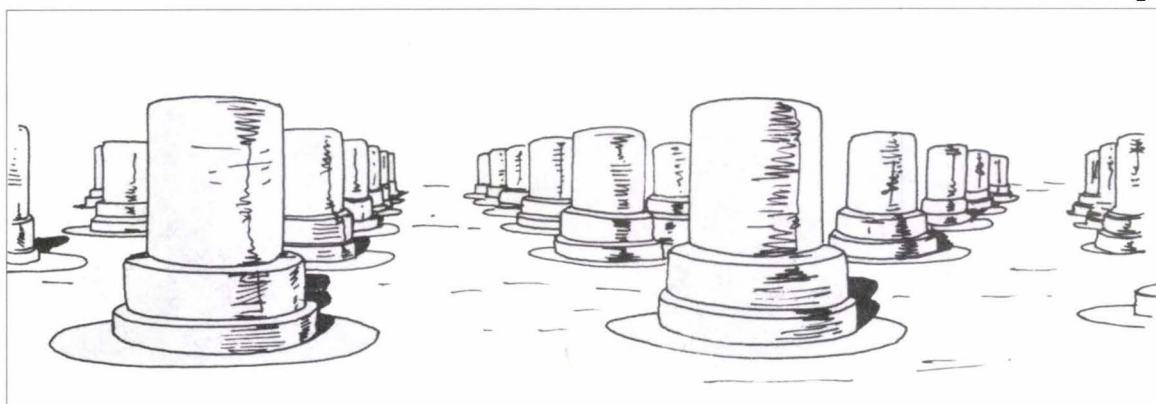


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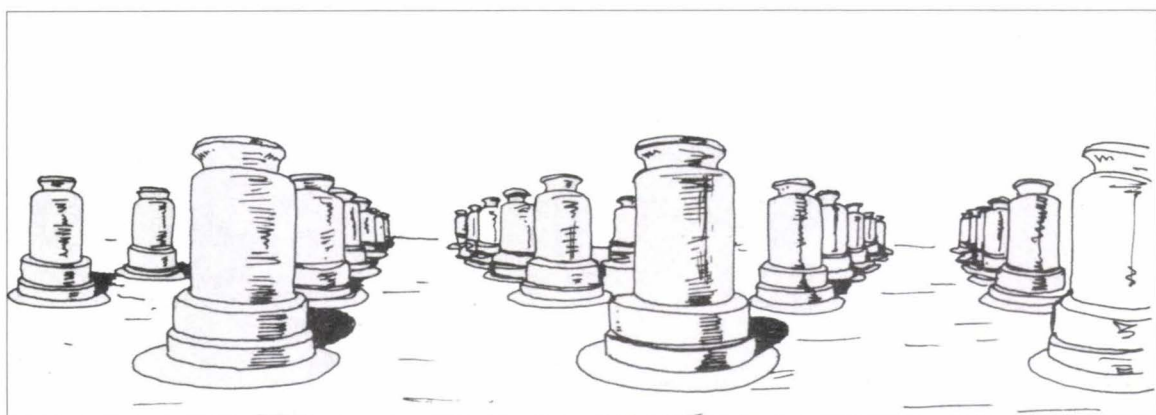
DRAWING X. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Andesite sanctuary from the Xth terrace. 1. Photo; 2. Plan.



1

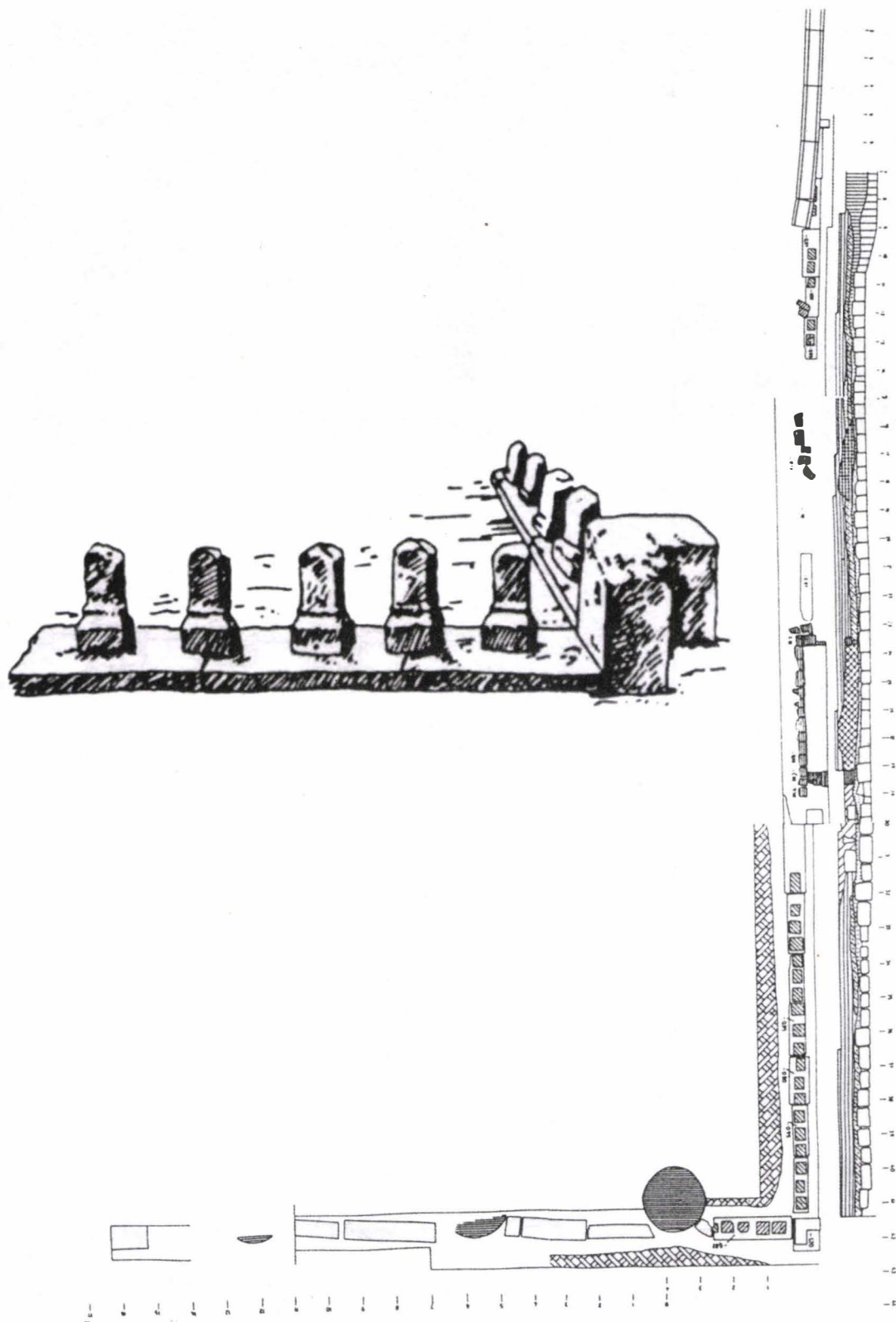


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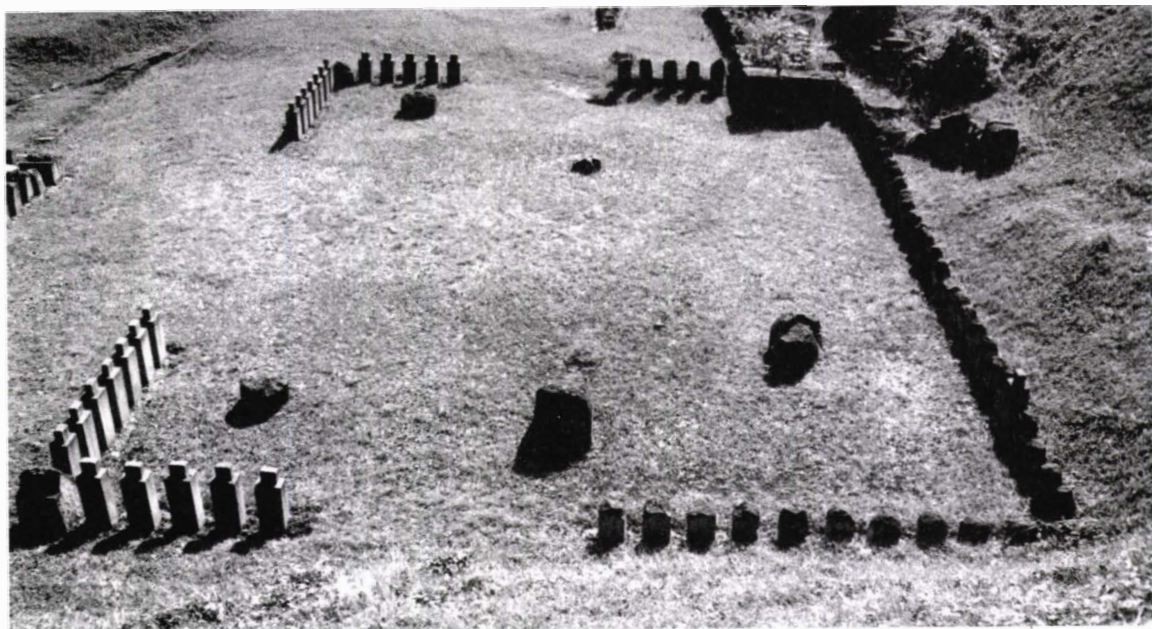


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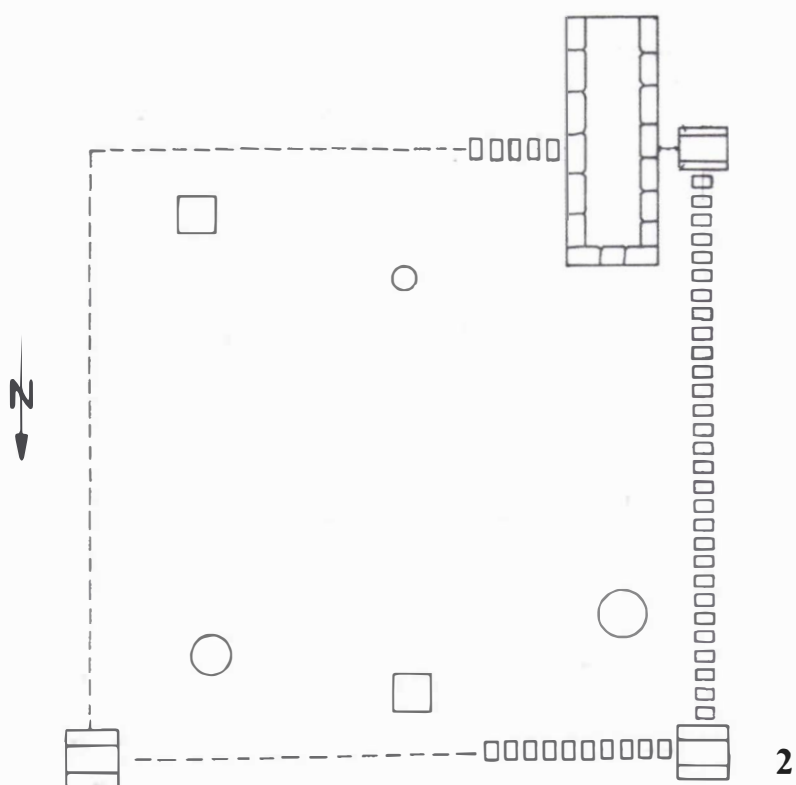
DRAWING XI. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. 1. Terraces with sanctuaries; Reconstruction attempt. Plan (acc. to H. Teodoru). Andesite sanctuary from the Xth terrace, Reconstruction proposal (2 - acc. To C. Daicoviciu; 3 - acc. to H. Daicoviciu).



DRAWING XII. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Lime sanctuary from the Xth terrace.

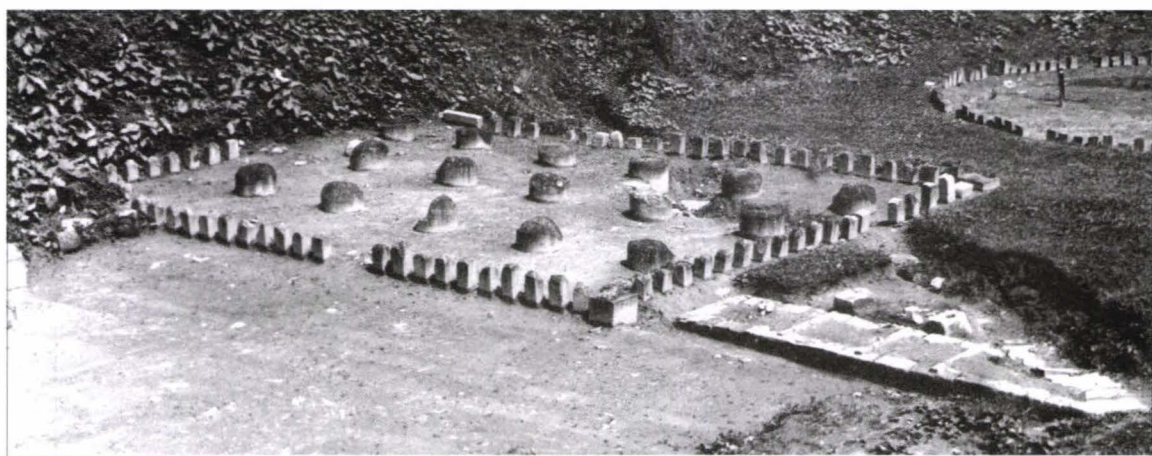
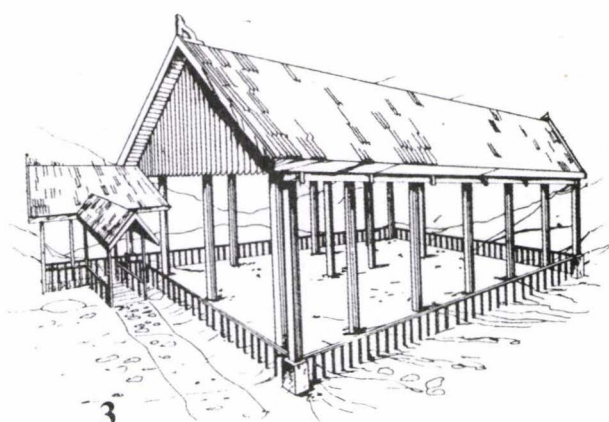
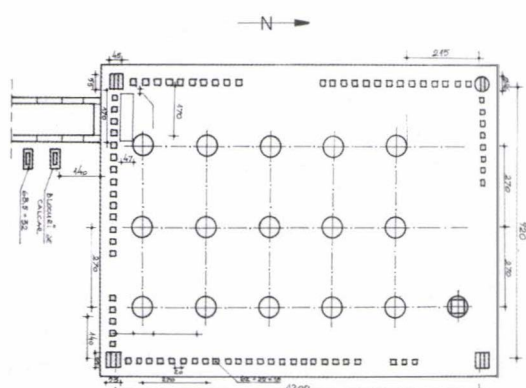
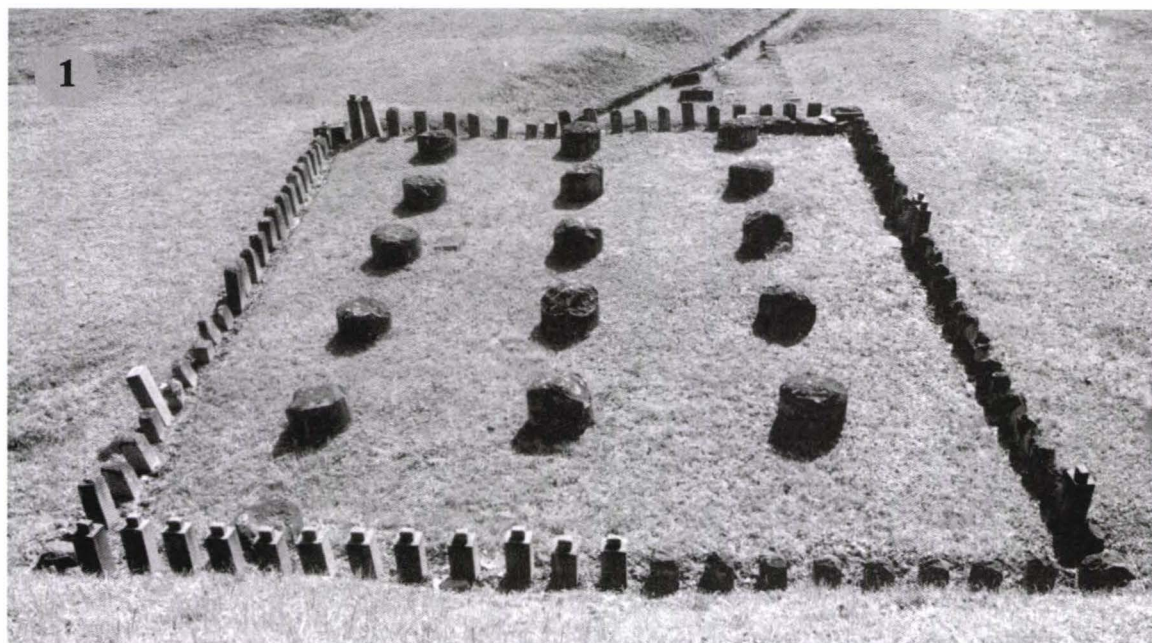


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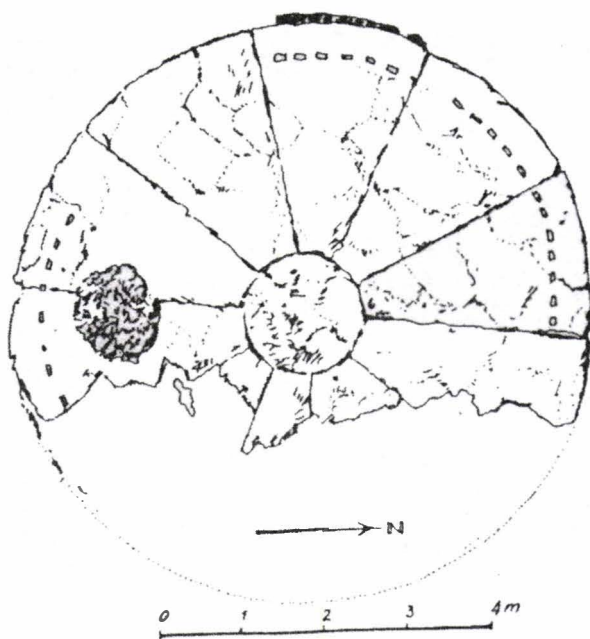
DRAWING XIII. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big quadrilateral andesite sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1. Photo; 2. Plan.



DRAWING XIV. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Small quadrilateral andesite sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1 and 4. Photos; 2. Plan; 3. Reconstruction proposal.



1

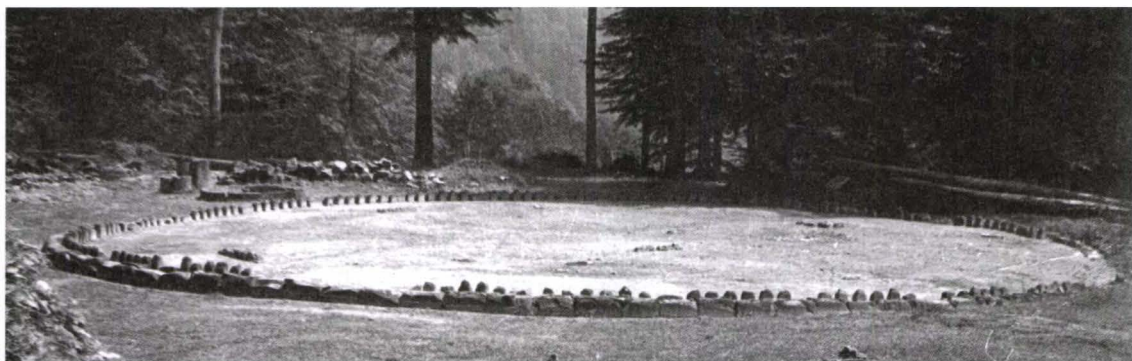


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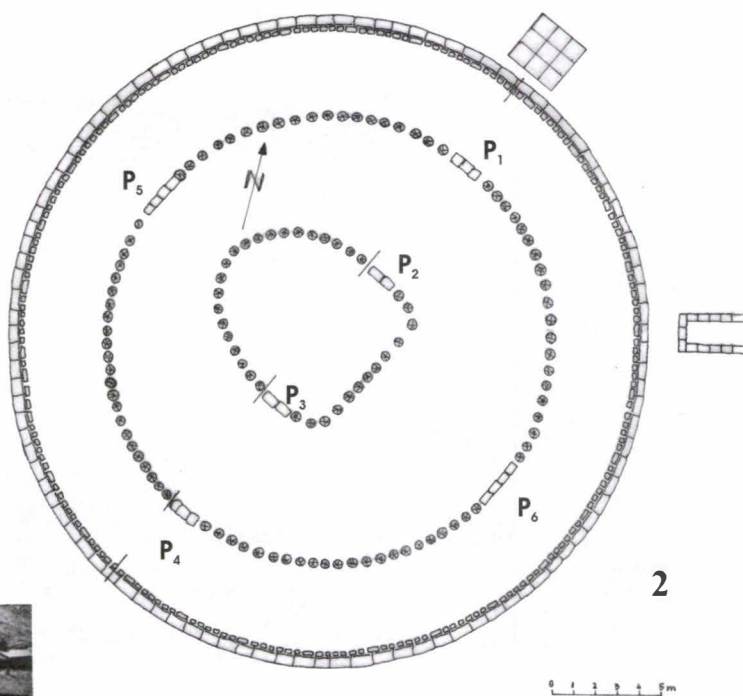


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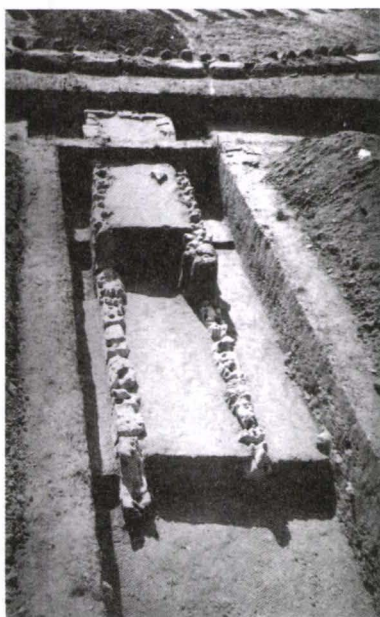
DRAWING XV. Grădiştea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. 1. Andesite sun; 2. Plan; 3. Photo "T" shape decorative part.



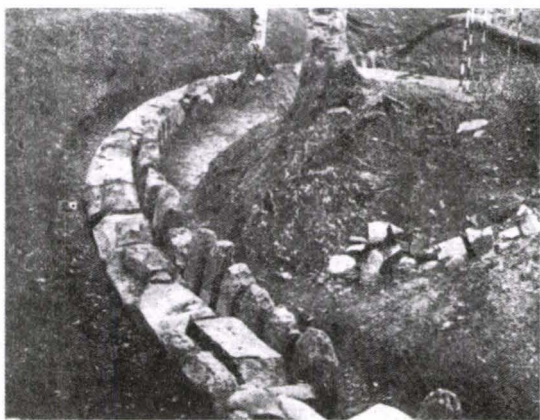
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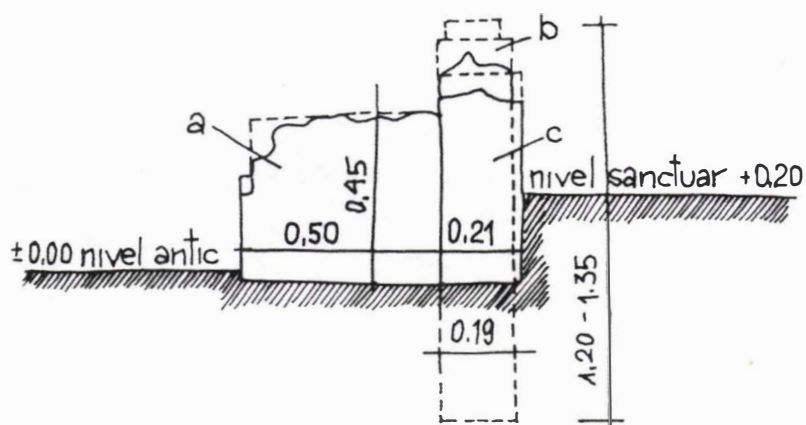
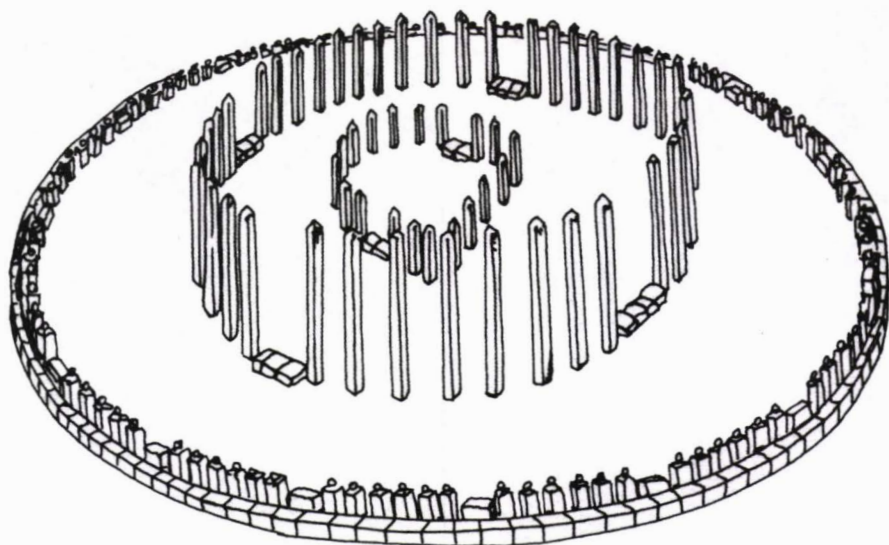


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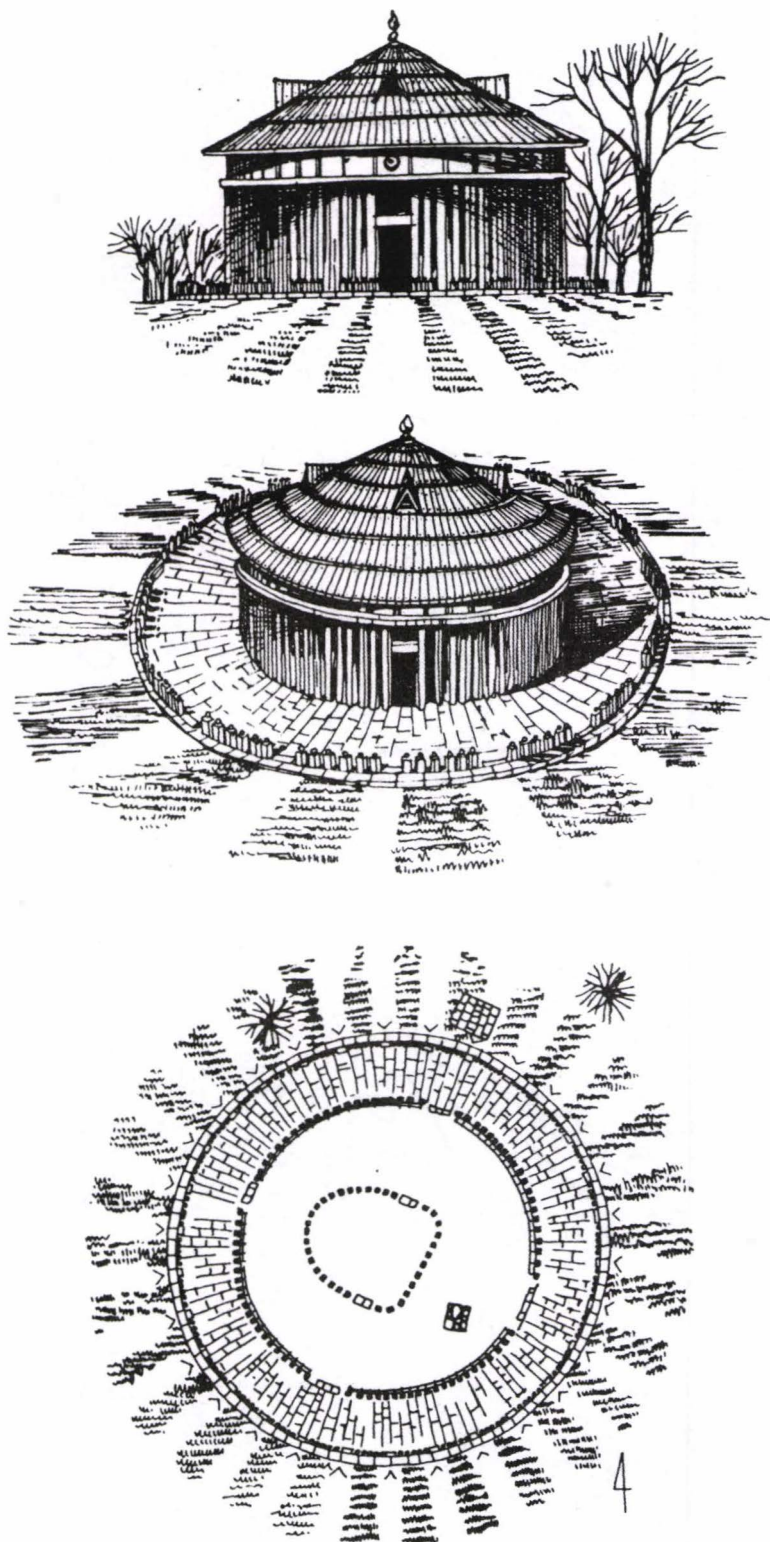


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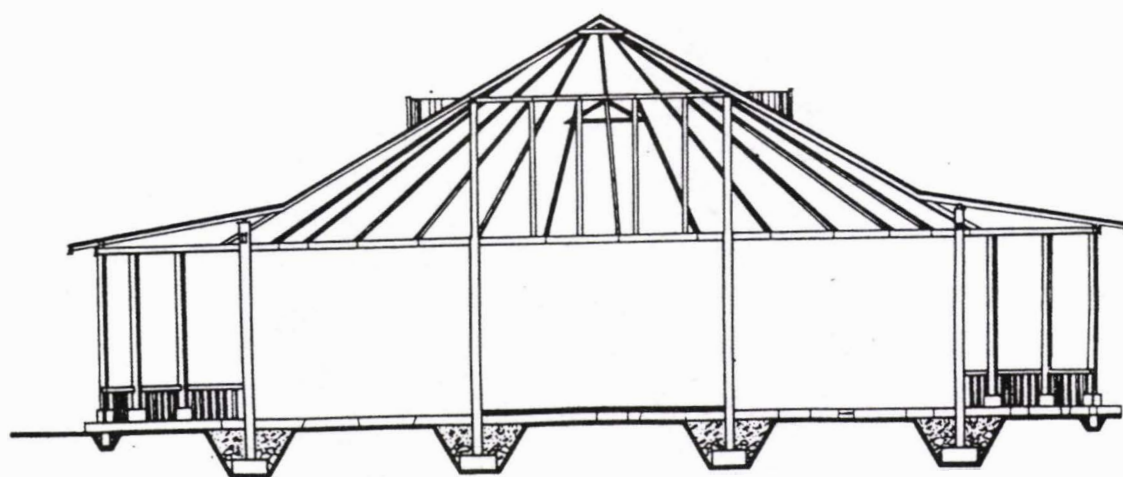
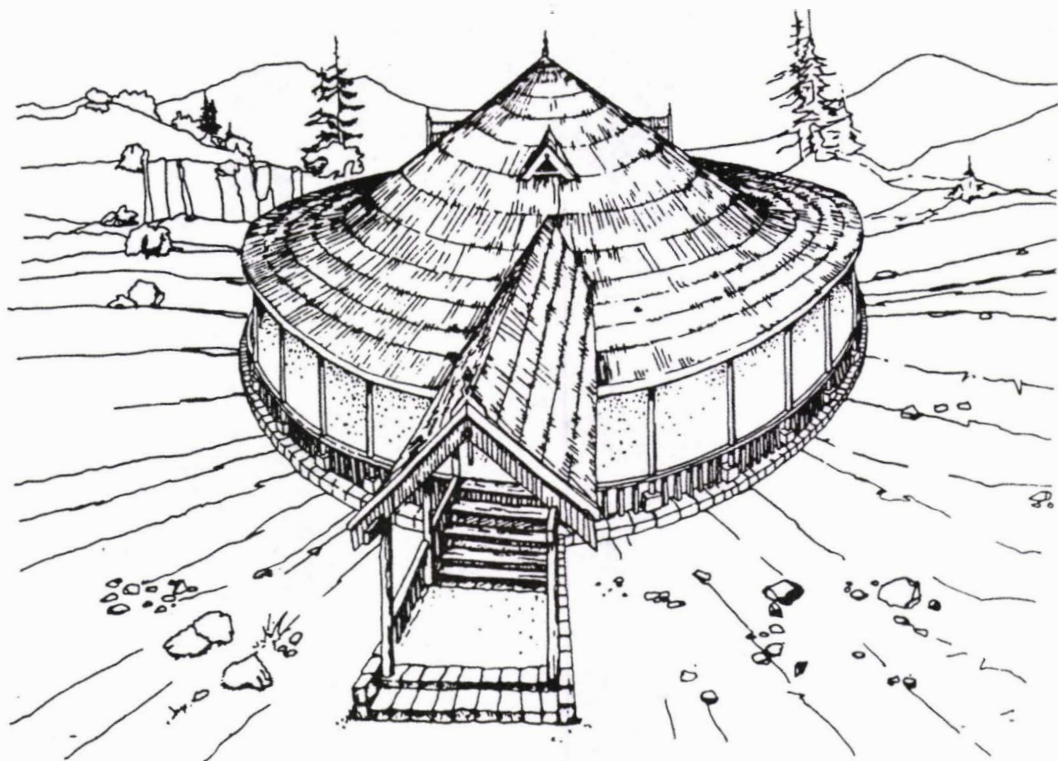
DRAWING XVI. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big circular sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1. Overview; 2. Plan 3. Photo - Entrance ramp; 4. Photo. Aspects during the investigations concentric andesite circles.



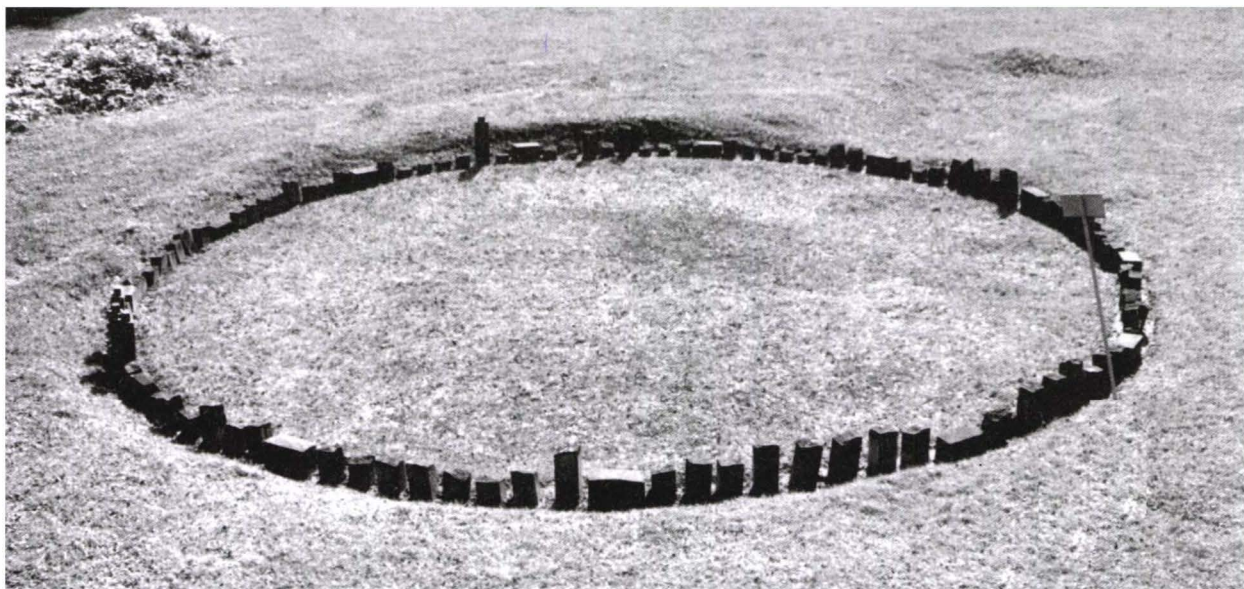
DRAWING XVII. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big circular Sanctuary from the XIth terrace. Reconstruction proposal (acc. to H. Daicoviciu).



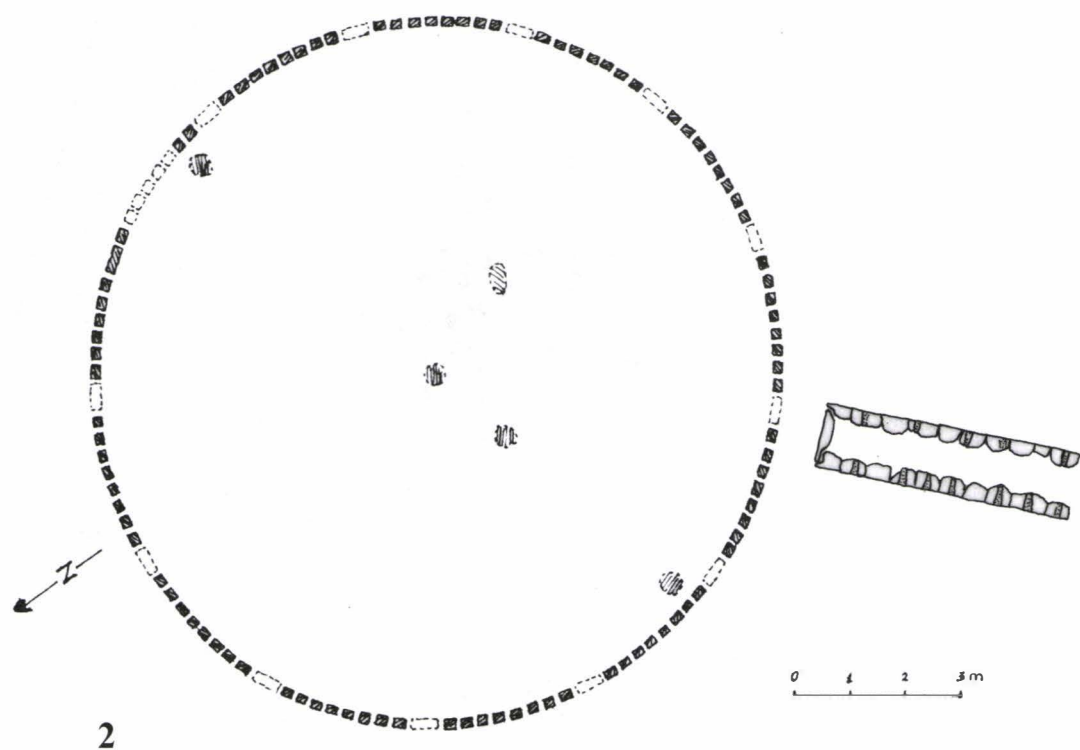
DRAWING XVIII. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big circular sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1. Plan; 2. Elevation; 3. Perspective reconstruction proposal (acc. to D. Antonescu).



DRAWING XIX. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Big circular sanctuary from the XIth terrace. Reconstruction proposal.

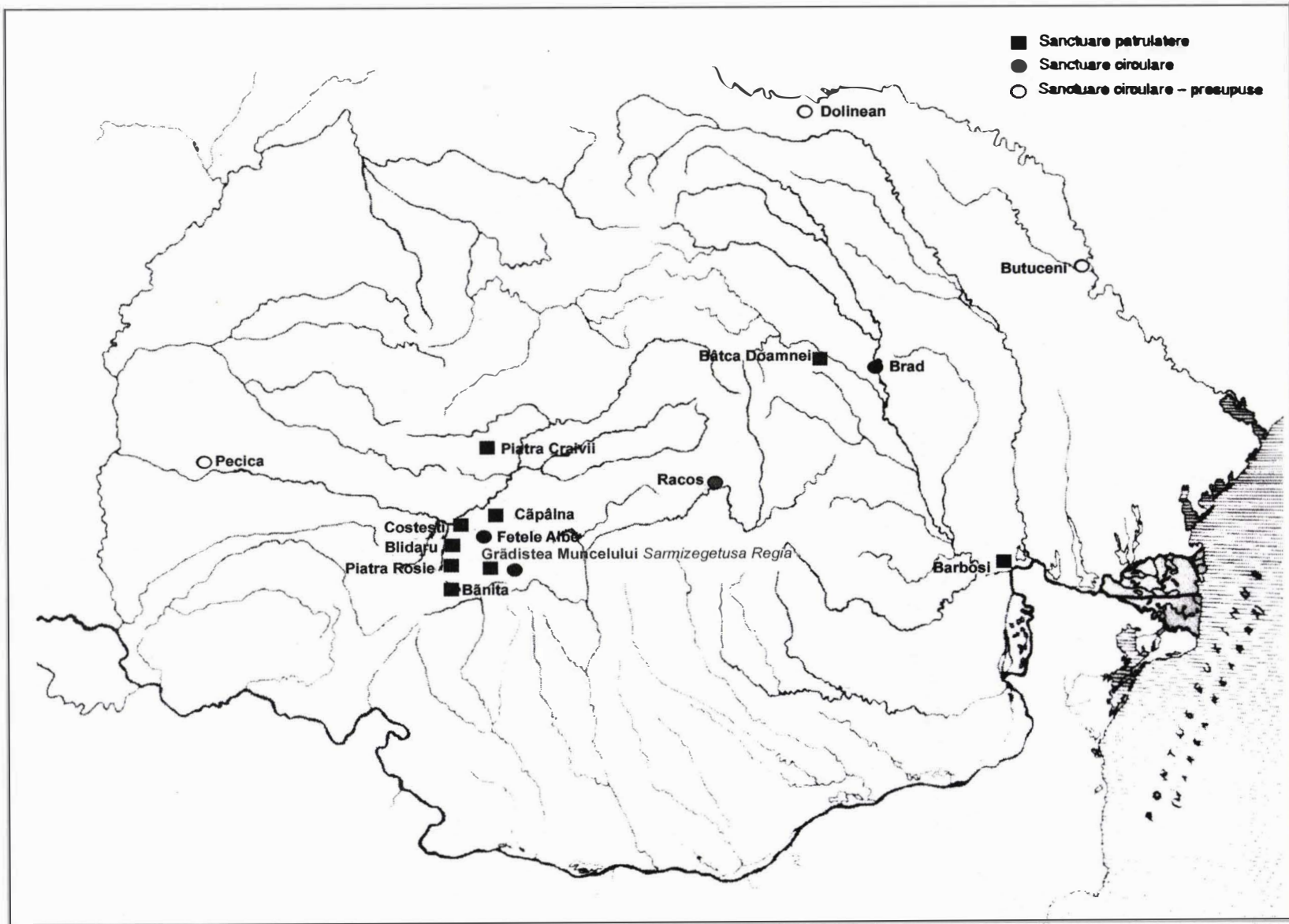


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DRAWING XX. Grădiștea Muncelului - Sarmizegetusa Regia. Small circular sanctuary from the XIth terrace. 1. Photo; 2. Plan.



DRAWING XXI. Quadrilateral and circular sanctuaries.
<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro>

MĂGURA MOIGRADULUI¹. SACRED AREA (1ST CENTURY BC) AND FORTIFIED DACIAN SETTLEMENT (1ST CENTURY AD)

Horea Pop, Alexandru V. Matei (Zalău - Romania)

Key-words : Dacians, sacred enclosure, fortified settlement, inventory, chronology.

The only known Dacian fortified settlement located in the Salaj County is the one situated on Măgura Moigradului. Its presence in the nearby of the Meseșeană Gate² was not obviously, accidentally. Mandatory pass, main Northwestern access route from and towards Transylvania, the place appears to us as an important communication route used by merchants or by anybody else, desiring to get out or in Transylvania with other purposes.

Short historic

A volcanic hill, a massive pile of stones, presently exploited by a quarry situated on its Southwestern slope, Măgura Moigradului emerges as an impressive cone body, with a maximum elevation of 514m, elevated with 224m above the Ortelec Valley, the water that created the previously named pass. The upper plateau is oval in shape with the large diameter of approximately 400m and the small one of 250m; with a total surface of seven hectares (**Plate 1**). The site became known in the scientific literature quite early³, due to the discovery of some Dacian hoards of silver adornments and coins⁴, and then, after the archaeological excavations between 1938 - 1939⁵, 1940 - 1941⁶, 1958 - 1959⁷ as a Dacian cremation necropolis. The site from the Măgura Moigradului proves to be a large and prosperous fortified Dacian settlement⁸

¹ This short description presents the main conclusions contained in the monographic study of the site, which is in preparation. An analogous Romanian version of this text appeared in *Studii de istorie antica. Omagiu Profesorului Ioan Glodariu*, p. 253-277

² V. Mihăilescu, *Porțile Transilvaniei*, Crisia, 1971, I, p. 9-14.

³ I. Marțian, *Urme din războaiele romanilor cu dacii*, Cluj, 1921, p.6.

⁴ I. C. Siedel, *AOG XV*, 1855, p. 324; C. Gohl, *Chronik der arhaologischen Funde Siebenburgens*, Hermannstadt, 1875, p. 37; O. Gohl, *ArchErt XX*, 1900, p. 434; *idem*, *Koizstobokus, Eremlelet Aranyosmedyesen*, NK, Budapest, 1903, II; I. Marțian, *op. cit.*; E. Chirilă, *Descoperiri monetare în Transilvania*, AMN III, 1966, p. 421; K. Horedt, *Die Dakischen Silberfunde*, Dacia N.S. 17, 1973, p. 127-167; Bundesministerium Fur Wissenschaft und Forschung, *Die Daker Archalogische Funde aus Rumanien*, Wien, I, Neue Hofburg, Burggartensale, 11, Juni, Bisch, Oktober, 1981.

⁵ C. Daicoviciu, *Neue mitteilungen aus Dazien*, Dacia VII-VIII, 1937-1940, p. 323.

⁶ I. Ferenczi, *Regeszeti megfigyelesek a limes dacicus eszaknyugati szakaszán*, EM, XLVI, 1941, p. 199-206.

⁷ M. Macrea, M. Rusu, *Der Dakische Friedhof von Porolissum und das problem des Dakischen Besatzungsbrauche in der spatlatenzeit*, Dacia N.S. IV, 1960, p.201-229; M. Macrea, D. Protase, M. Rusu, *Șantierul arheologic Porolissum*, Materiale VIII, 1962, p. 485-504.

⁸ Al. V. Matei, *Așezarea dacică fortificată de pe Măgura Moigradului*, ActaMP X, 1986, p. 126-128; Al. V. Matei, H. Pop, *Șantierul arheologic Porolissum – Moigrad*, in vol. *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice*, Satu Mare, 1994, p. 50-51; *idem*, *Raport preliminar în legătură cu săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de conservare și restaurare executate la Porolissum în anul 1993*, ActaMP XVIII, 1994, p. 111-134; *idem*, *Șantierul arheologic Porolissum-Moigrad*, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice*, Cluj Napoca, 1995, p. 55-57; *idem*, *Măgura Moigradului*, in *Situri arheologice cercetate în perioada 1983-1992*, Brăila, 1996, p. 73-74.

previously preceded by a site with a cultic nature⁹, dated between the end of the second century BC and the first century BC¹⁰. Because of the geographic conditions, the fortified settlements similar to those discovered in the Southern or Eastern Dacia¹¹, are not typical to the Salaj County region; only the site from Moigrad stands alone.

We will not detail now problems connected with the site's fortification, which is to be discussed later in the text, but we will try to reflect several aspects of the site revealed in the excavations carried out in the last years, presented also in later studies¹².

On Măgura Moigradului systematic archaeological excavations took place beginning with the years 1938 - 1939¹³. Well known in this moment are the results of the 1984, 1987 - 1995¹⁴ research campaigns to which we may add with the campaigns from the years 1958 - 1959¹⁵ but only with certain probability, due to the particular situation in which we received the archaeological inventory (**Plate 1** – *The general plan of the excavations*).

Excavated surface – preliminary results. The plateau has a total surface of 70.000 square meters from which only 3.730,36 square meters were excavated, representing 5,32% from the total. In this surface there were identified 193 Dacian pits, 32 dwellings, 43 fireplaces and 8 ovens. Several less preserved ovens might have been considered fireplaces, but this possibility does not change the main data of the issue. From the 195 discovered Dacian pits, two were post holes and were connected probably, with a dwelling positioned in the nearby.

For the chronological horizon dated at the end of the second century BC – first century BC, which corresponded to the period in which the site functioned as an area with ritual deposits, there were identified and dated as such, 4 pit-dwellings (**Plate 1**) and 79 pits. For the period between the first century BC and the first century AD one could date 1 dwelling and 6 pits and for the first century AD there were excavated and dated 27 dwellings (**Plate 1**) and 25 pits. For the last two chronological horizons we identified only surface-dwellings but also pits with an unquestionably ritual nature. The rest of the pits could not be dated precisely in one of the three chronological periods, due to their poor inventory or due to poor technical recordings¹⁶ (inaccessible for us).

The fortification of the plateau – components. Due to the controversy connected to their chronology, only occasional notes appeared about the fortification elements from Măgura Moigradului. Beginning with the year 1984, when archaeological excavations restarted in this site, the fortification elements were investigated in eleven points corresponding to the six field campaigns which had this objective (**Plate 1**). The seven hectares of the upper plateau were

⁹ Al. V. Matei, *op. cit.*, p. 126-128; Al. V. Matei, C. Stoica, *Cercetări arheologice pe Măgura Moigradului Campania 1987*, ActaMP XII, 1988, p. 158-160; H. Pop, *Contribuții metodologice privind cercetarea spiritualității dacice, reflectată în descoperirile arheologice*, ActaMP XVII, 1993, p. 91-105.

¹⁰ H. Pop, Al. V. Matei, *The tipology of grey pottery discovered in the dacian settlement from Măgura Moigradului*, paper sustained at the *Pre Congress Colloquy-The stamped grey pottery*, Zalău, 27-30 June, 1996.

¹¹ Few examples at I. Glodariu, *Arhitectura dacilor*, Cluj Napoca, 1983; D. Berciu, *Buridava dacică*, București, 1981; others from Transylvania at I. Glodariu, *Așezarea dacică și daco-romană de la Slimnic*, AMN IX, 1972, p. 119-140, idem, *Vase de argint în tezaurile dacice*, Sargetia XI-XII, 1974-1975, p. 19-34; idem, *Așezări dacice și daco-romane la Slimnic (jud. Sibiu)*, București, 1981, p. 191.

¹² H. Pop, *Civil architecture and habitat during Latene D in the Depression of Șimleu*, ActaMN XXXII, 1995, p. 103-118.

¹³ C. Daicoviciu, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

¹⁴ Excavations carried out by dr. Al. V. Matei together with a collective in which took part C. Stoica (1987-1990), D. Tamba (1984, 1987-1989), dr. H. Pop (1988-1995), I. Bejinariu (1994)

¹⁵ See footnote number 6.

¹⁶ This is the case with the 55 pits discovered in the 1958-1959 excavation campaigns.

enclosed with a system of fences fixed into two parallel foundation trenches, positioned at variable distances (from 5 to 10 meters, **Plate 8/13-15**). In a single point (S1/1993, **Plate 8/15a**) located in the Eastern part of the plateau, the observed distance between the two foundation trenches was narrower (0,5m). This area is the most difficult to climb and here the fence fortification was not doubled in the exterior by a ditch. In all the other cases the fortification ditch was located at the base of the fence at a distance of 3,5 – 7m. The opening of the ditch which had a rounded bottom, varied between 2 – 3m, with depths between 0,7 - 1,5m (**Plate 8/13,14**). The wideness of the two trenches with wood beams which supported the fence measured between 0,3 – 0,6m, and depths of 0,8m (**Plate 8/13a**). Even though the steep and long slope of the hill made enough difficult any unfriendly climbing attempt, the entire plateau was fortified with a wood and earth fortification doubled on the exterior, almost on its entire length (approximately 1 km), by a ditch, imposed in a way by the land pattern (**Plate 1**). Moreover, at 25 meters away from these fortification elements, on the western slope of the hill, the one orientated towards the Meseșcană Gate and easier to climb, another ditch, 235m in length, was found (**Plate 11**). The ditch was 3m wide on top and 1,3m in depth and was probably designed to have a fence fixed in a *vallum* which probably fell in time inside the ditch, due to the steep slope (**Plate 8/15b**). Both fortifications seem to function in the same time, during the first century AD, until the Roman conquest. An evidence in this way is the archaeological material found in the ditch filling, but above this, the discovery of a Dacian dwelling dated in the first century AD overlapped by the Dacian fortification of the plateau.

The sacred area. An archaeological site may be considered a cult place only with regard to the archaeological context of the discovery, the presence in the nearby of complexes with solid elements of ritual: fireplaces, altars, sanctuaries, ritual pits, items with a cultic signification.

Măgura Moigradului entered the historical literature with some ritual discoveries, initially interpreted as funerary monuments¹⁷. As result of the excavations carried out during 1984 – 1995, the site may be now considered a large civil Dacian settlement¹⁸ which occupied the entire 7 ha of the upper plateau surrounded by a *vallum*. If this affirmation seems to be unquestionably for the archaeological reality dated in the first century AD, although, also in this period there were discovered ritual pits, for the first century BC the most justified interpretation of the site is that of a cult place.

An argument for this interpretation¹⁹ may be the large number of pits datable in the first century BC (79) compared with the small number of season (none of them had a fireplace) pit-dwellings (4) with a poor inventory. Moreover, for this chronological horizon, the ritual pits were identified also on the slopes of the hill, in the exterior of the fortification, as it was the case with a pit excavated in 1991²⁰ and with other complexes identified in the Southern sector of the site, during the reconstruction of the road which ensures the access on the plateau. Apart, from the typical inventory (entire or fragmentary ceramic vessels, burnt stones, animal bones, sometimes cremated, ash, coal, entire or fragmentary utensils, pieces of fireplaces and burnt clay

¹⁷ M. Macrea, M. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 201-229; M. Macrea, D. Protasc, M. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 361-390; M. Macrea, M. Rusu, I. Mitrofan, *op. cit.*, p. 485-504.

¹⁸ See the text in which the subject is the fortified settlement from Măgura Moigradului.

¹⁹ H. Pop, *Arhitectură civilă și habitat în La Tene D, în Depresiunea Șimleului*, in vol. *Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei. Familie și societate*, Cluj Napoca, 1999. p. 109-122.

²⁰ *idem*, *Contribuții metodologice privind cercetarea spiritualității dacice, reflectată în descoperirile arheologice*, ActaMP XVII 1993, p. 91-105.

walls, adornments, dress accessories, fragments of grinders), some pits (4 of them) contained inside human skeletons or parts of skeletons²¹.

Without an obvious tendency to group in any part of the plateau, the Dacian pits dated in the first century BC, had regular diameters of 1m and regular depths of 1,2-1,5m. There were identified as well, large pits with diameters of 2,2-2,5m, not much deeper than the rest. The situation was similar for several pits dated in the first century AD.

In general, the four pit-dwellings identified on Măgura Moigradului (**Plate 1**), which correspond to the chronological horizon when the site functioned as a sacred place, had a circular plan and depths of 0,70m, with 30-40cm dug actually in the rock bed of the hill. The roof had two slopes supported by two posts, positioned inside the construction, fixed with 60 cm below the walking level. The diameter of the dwellings varied between 2 to 3,5m. None of these houses had a fireplace inside. This type of complex had as inventory ceramic, bones, small tools and stones fallen from the hay roof, and was observed on the Eastern and Southern parts of the plateau, in opposition with the surface-dwellings, which were identified not only on the Eastern and Southern sides, but also on the Northwestern side, more exposed to winds.

The fortified Dacian settlement. The identification of the fortified Dacian settlement resulted after the analyses of the so called *platforms with ceramic*, presented as well in the older literature and moreover, after the appearance of similar complexes in more recent excavations. We consider these *platforms with ceramic*²² as surface-dwellings (**Plate I**). Their inventory consisted in ceramic vessels broken in situ, pieces of clay walls, sometimes burnt, animal bones, sometimes burnt, other items specific to an everyday life (whetstone, iron items, items for ceramic modeling, grinders). Their contour was often irregularly; often they overlapped a fireplace and frequently pits. The pits usually belonged to the older level. That is why we consider those platforms surface-dwellings built on wood beams foundations, technology used due the small depth where one could found the volcanic rock specific to Măgura Moigradului; the wood beams did not let any traces in the rock except for when they were dug into it.

The archaeological material. Chronology, types of vessels, functionality, decoration, manufacturing techniques. For the time interval between the end of the second century BC and the first century BC, when we consider the first chronological horizon of the Dacian habitation in this site to be a sacred area, we mention as chronological markers silver broche with knots (3 items) discovered in 1855²³ (at K.M.V. beginning with the year 1865), datable in the last quarter of the second century BC until the middle of the next one²⁴. In the pit G17/1994 there were found pieces of a belt hook covered with a decorated bronze plate (**Plate 2/1**) together with a knife, a spoon (**Plate 2/7**), an iron spur and entire ceramic vessels (3 pots with isolated knobs and a black polished fruit-bowl without its foot). The belt hook can be dated during the first century BC²⁵, as well as the iron exemplar discovered in the pit-welling

²¹ Al. V. Matei, *Așezarea dacică fortificată de pe Măgura Moigradului*, ActaMP X, 1986, p. 126-128; Al. V. Matei, H. Pop, Șantierul arheologic Porolissum-Moigrad, in vol. *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice*, Satu Mare, 1994, p. 50-51; idem, *Raport preliminar în legătură cu săpăturile arheologice și lucrările de conservare și restaurare executate la Porolissum în anul 1993*, ActaMP XVIII, 1994, p. 111-134;

²² M. Macrea, M. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 201-229; M. Macrea, D. Protase, M. Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 361-390; M. Macrea, M. Rusu, I. Mitrofan, *op. cit.*, p. 485-504.

²³ R. Florescu, I. Miclea, *Tezaure transilvane la Kunsthistorische Museum din Viena*, București, 1979, p. 20-21.

²⁴ A. Rustoiu, *Fibulele din Dacia preromană*, București, 1997, p. 32-33.

²⁵ M. Babeș, *Paftalele Latene târzii din sud-estul Europei*, SCIVA 34, 1983, 3, p. 196-221; A. Rustoiu, *Metalurgia bonzului la daci*, București, 1996, p. 120-121

identified in S1/1993. In this dwelling appeared also a fragment of an iron coat of mail, this type of equipment disappearing gradually at the beginning of the first century AD²⁶.

In G5/1984, near the ritual deposited superior half of a woman, there was discovered a globular silver pendant (**Plate 2/4**) with good analogies at Liptovska Mara²⁷ with Celtic items dated in the II-I centuries BC. These early items provide the chronology for the ceramic vessels discovered inside the pit G5/1984, in an older period, at the end of the second century BC and along the first century BC. The ancient mending observable on the hanging ring of the globular silver pendant, made with a bronze wire, may suggest a long period of use for this item. A tempting hypothesis, considering this adornment as specific to the Celtic world, might assert that the sacrificed individual was a war prisoner (?). The circular silver pendant with three rungs, discovered in the same complex, without any good analogies in the Dacian world, could also sustain the previously named theory. A similar exemplar, but with four rungs, appeared at Sighișoara-Wietenberg²⁸, and its Central-European analogies²⁹ suggest the fact that the item was imported³⁰, or that the sacrificed feminine individual from G5/1984 pit was a war prisoner. These types of items are usually chronologically dated between the second half of the second century BC and the first century BC, data which completes, by the way, the proposed chronology for the entire complex³¹.

The chronological horizon of the fortified settlement (1st century AD) can be precisely dated due to the presence in several complexes (L1/1991/1992 in S1/1991 and C2-C3/1992 and the dwelling-tower discovered in the Southern sector of the site in 1995) of profiled bronze pendants (**Plate 2/8-12**), dated especially in the first century AD³². An iron broche, without the spring, manufactured in a local workshop (**Plate 2/6**), discovered in the dwelling identified in S1/1991 and C2-C3/1992, can be dated in relation with the bronze profiled pendants in the second half of the first century AD³³.

The lira-shaped bronze buckle (**Plate 2/5**) discovered in the dwelling L2/1992 belongs to a very well known Dacian type³⁴, mainly dated in the first century AD³⁵. This type of buckle appears in 5 exemplars in Liptovska Mara³⁶, in Slovakia, in the Puchov culture, the author who published them, considered they are Noricum-Pannonian imported items. A fragmentary item was discovered in Malaja Kopanja in Ukraine, also considered there, an imported Noricum-Pannonian item³⁷. This type of dress accessory provides for the ceramic material discovered inside the dwelling a chronology in the first century AD.

Considering the pottery found in complexes belonging to the two chronological horizons, as chronological markers, we observed that these materials are indeed different, from a period to the other, as decoration, shapes and material used inside the clay mixture.

²⁶ A. Rustoiu, op. cit., p. 150.

²⁷ K. Pietă, *Liptovska Mara*, Bratislava, 1996, p. 94, fig. XI-3, 4, 9.

²⁸ K. Horedt, C. Seraphin, *Die prahistorische Ansiedlung auf dem Wietenberg bei Sighișoara-Schassburg*, Bonn, 1971, pl. 62/13.

²⁹ D. van Endert, *Die Bronzefunde aus dem Oppidum von Manching*, in the series *Ausgrabungen in Manching*, Bd. 13, Stuttgart, 1991, p. 15-18.

³⁰ A. Rustoiu, *Metalurgia bronzului la daci*, București, 1986, p. 126

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26

³² M. Macrea, M. Rusu, op. cit., p. 215, fig 13/11; A. Rustoiu, op.cit., p. 123-124.

³³ A. Rustoiu, op. cit., p. 52, fig. 57/1, type 18.

³⁴ A. Rustoiu, *Cataramă în formă de "liră" în Dacia preromană*, Marisia XXIII-XXIV, 1994, p. 577-580

³⁵ A. Rustoiu, *Metalurgia bronzului la daci*, București, 1986, p. 118-119

³⁶ K. Pietă, I. Nitra, 1982, p. 253, fig. XI/14; idem, *Liptovska Mara*, Bratislava, 1996, p.80, fig. VIII/5-8.

³⁷ V. Kotigorosko, *Țimuturile Tisei Superioare în veacurile III î.e.n.-IV e.n.*, București, 1995, p. 98 and fig 50/53

If for the first period (the end of the second century BC – first century BC) we identified hand-made pots (**Plate 3**) with slightly flared out lip and more rarely with a lip with facets, decorated with alveoli girdles (never incised girdles) (**Plate 3/5, 6**) which links cylindrical or flat knobs, with finger-tips alveoli, decorated with oblique girdles positioned on the pot's body (**Plate 3/4**) or decorated with incised ornaments made with a “comb” on the entire surface of the pot or with two or four knobs isolated on the maximum curvature of the pot (**Plate 3/7, 8**), containing in the clay smashed shards, limestone or mica, the pots (cooking vessels were the most numerous, **Plate 6**) dated in the second horizon (first century AD) had a pronounced flared out lip, with facets, immediately under the neck decorated with horizontal lines or wave lines incised with a “comb” with 3-5 teeth (**Plate 6/1, 3**), followed almost constantly by continuous horizontal girdles, incised (**Plate 6/7, 8**) or with alveoli (**Plate 6/1, 6, 9**), in relief, positioned on the maximum curvature of the pot. In this period appeared the decoration with incised little firs positioned in the superior half of the vessel (**Plate 6/6**). In the clay they usually mixed fine sand.

For the older horizon³⁸ typical were the porringers with a lip shaped as a “T” or “S” (**Plate 4/6, 8**), black or brown polished fruit-bowls (**Plate 4/5**) or grey hand-made exemplars and Celtic type hand-made *kantharoi*, with slightly over-elevated handles (**Plate 4/7**)³⁹. Also frequent were the small and medium sized bitruncated mugs, with a cylindrical handle, covered with a brownish or dark grayish slip (**Plate 4/1-4**). The rushlight cups had rarely no handles (**Plate 8/11**) and more frequent had one handle (**Plate 8/3-5**) or two handles (**Plate 8/1, 2, 10**), without much decoration (**Plate 8/10**), especially in the first century AD, when the site functioned as a fortified settlement, context in which the increased number of this type of lighting installation may have an explanation. The miniature vessels were not very numerous in the first period; a special entire item, a miniature pot, was decorated with motifs, which were never noticed in totality in the decoration of the large vessels (**Plate 3/3**). For the first century AD we noticed an increased presence of the miniature vessels, imitation of pots (**Plate 8/6-9**) and rushlight cups (**Plate 8/12**).

The wheel-made ceramic was in majority fired without oxygen, presenting a grayish color. For the first century BC horizon we noticed the presence of hemispherical porringers with a lip shaped as a “T” (**Plate 5/4, 5**) or “S” (**Plate 5/2, 3**) and of numerous mugs with one handle (**Plate 5/6-12**), in which water could have been brought from the nearby springs. The large vessels for storage (**Plate 5/1**) lacked almost entirely. The fruit-bowls had in general, large lips of 3,5 -8cm and impressive diameters. The quantity of wheel-made pottery was smaller in comparison with the same technologic type dated in the later period of the site development.

In the first century AD we noticed the presence of large bowls with a wale positioned in the area of the lip (**Plate 7/8**). These vessels were used for transporting the food to the table, furniture item which we can guess as inventory in the surface-dwellings, typical for this century on Măgura Moigradului. The porringers with a similar profile represented a more modest in size relative of these bowls; they were used in the individual alimentation (**Plate 7/6, 7**). The wheel-made fruit-bowls, had with more slender shapes, conical interiors and narrow lips (1,5 – 3cm, **Plate 7/3-5**), suggesting their use more as drinking cups (**Plate 7/2**), than vessels for eating. The

³⁸ Good analogies for the pottery dated in this horizon in M. Macrea, I. Glodariu, *Așezarea dacică de la Arpașu de Sus*, București, 1976; I. Glodariu, *Așezări dacice și daco-romane la Slimnic*, București, 1981; V. Sîrbu, *Dava getică de la Grădiște, Brăila*, 1986.

³⁹ The best analogies in B. Iovanovic, M. Iovanovic, *Gomolava*, Novi-Sad-Belgrad, 1988, where the Celtic type *Kantharoi* belong to the materials dated in the phases VIa and VIb, dated in the time interval between the second century BC and the end of the first century BC. The Dacian material from Gomolava is identical with the pottery discovered at Moigrad.

small number of *kantharoi* (**Plate 9/12**) may be in this way explained. The mugs (**Plate 7/13**) were found again in a large number, completing the functionality of the fruit bowl-cups, that of transporting liquids. The pitchers were also found in a small number (**Plate 7/11**), in comparison with the mugs. In this chronological horizon appeared the hemispherical lid with an exterior collar (**Plate 7/1**) and the large vessels for storage, grey or brick colored, with ring shaped bottom or straight bottom and profiled, flared out lip (**Plate 7/10**). This type of vessel was quite numerous, compensating in a way the lack of major water resources inside the enclosed plateau, as possible water storage vessels. The decorations were always the same: alternative incised sets of horizontal lines or wave lines, realized with “combs” with 4 – 9 teeth. Because of the high humidity level in the soil, few polished ornaments preserved in time, but we suppose they decorated vessels like fruit-bowls, mugs or *kantharoi*; the preserved polished motifs were typical for the Dacian pottery.

These conclusions are sustained by the following tables.

Statistic table with the situation of the pits on Măgura Moigradului.

	Dacian					Square meters excavated each campaign
	BC	AD	Between centuries	Not datable	Post holes	
1958	?	?	?	55	?	800
1959						
1984	17	4	2	7	-	441
1987	2	-	-	1	-	40
1988	5	1	-	1	-	166,6
1989	6	4	-	7	-	580
1990	13	1	1	1	-	200,5
1991	3	-	1	-	-	110,25
1992	6	1	1	2	2	299
1993	5	3	1	2	-	233
1994	15	6	-	5	-	503
1995	8	5	-	1	-	437
Total	80	25	6	82	2	3.730,35
%	41	13	3	42	1	
% from total	195=80%					
	Dated Dacian pits			Non dated Dacian pits		
	111=57%			84=43%		

For 45.000 square meters in use we suppose the existence of 2.943 possible pits.

Statistic table with the situation of the dwellings on Măgura Moigradului

Year	Dwelling	Context	BC		BC/AD	AD
			pit dwelling	Surface-dwelling		
1984	L1	S3, meter 15-18				I
	L2	S3				I
	L3	S4				I
1988	L1	S1-S2				I

	L2	S2 meter 9-12		1		
1989	L1	S2 meter 113-117				1
	L2	S2 meter 1-4	1			
1990	L1	S1/90				1
1991	L1	S1/91, C2-C3/92				1
1992	L1	S1/92				1
	L2	S1/92 meter 2-10				
1993	L1	Above L2 S1/93				1
	L2	Bellow L1, with G11?	1			
1995	L1	Dwelling-tower?				1
	L2	C17, 20	1			
Total 9	15		3	1	1	26
			4			
	%			13	3,2	83,8
1958-1959	L1-116					16
				31 dwellings		

The statistical analysis of the wheel-made Dacian ceramic, discovered in the Dacian pits and dwellings in the 1984 archaeological campaign.

		BC	AD	Total	%	BC%	AD%
1	Vessels with a foot	20	26	46	39	44,4	35,5
2	Mugs	15	23	38	32	33,3	31,5
3	Small mugs	4	1	5	4,2	8,8	1,3
4	Lids	-	1	1	0,8	-	1,3
5	Large storage vessels	2	8	10	8,4	4,4	11
6	Bowls	4	10	14	12,3	8,8	13,6
7	Imitations	-	4	4	3,3	-	5,4
	Total	45	73	118	100%	100	100%
	Total%	38	62				

Conclusions

The excavations performed in different parts of the plateau showed that the general situation of the settlement remained unchanged no matter the area, except a third of the plateau positioned in the middle, which is higher, therefore exposed to winds and where the number of complexes is very small. A statistic analysis⁴⁰ may approximate⁴¹ the total number of complexes which once could have occupied the entire plateau, because of the representative number of researched complexes and due to the excavations performed in various points. We consider for

⁴⁰ Similar data can be observed in V. Crișan, *Despre situația demografică în estul Transilvaniei în secolele II î. H.-I d. H.*, ActaMN XXVI-XXX, 1/1, 1989-1993, p. 70-89.

⁴¹ See a first attempt in H. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 103-118.

this assumption, only the two thirds of the plateau which were intensely and permanently inhabited (45.000 square meters).

Therefore, hypothetically, for the chronological horizon dated in the first century BC, there could have existed 48 dwellings and 952 pits, a regular relation in the case of a sacred place with ritual deposits in pits, of a dwelling to 19,7 pits.

For the intermediary chronological horizon dated between the first century BC and first century AD there could have existed 12 dwellings and 72 pits, and for the third horizon, to which we believe the intermediary belonged also, 325 dwellings and 301 pits.

Calculating that a dwelling could be occupied by a family composed of 5-6 members⁴², we estimate communities of 240 people for the first horizon, 60 for the intermediary and 1625 for the third⁴³.

Of course these estimations might seem exaggerate, but only for the third chronological horizon which ends at the Roman conquest, time around when the entire fortification was erected⁴⁴.

What fact determined the growth of population on the plateau of Moigrad remains difficult to establish. A demographic growth is excluded. More probably, we consider the immigration of a population from the valley to the hill in front of a possible danger dated in the first century AD.

The long time performed archaeological excavations on Măgura Moigradului, the nature of the identified complexes (ritual pits, dwellings) permitted through an analysis of these closed complexes, the emergence of a daring proposal for a shorter chronology of the Dacian ceramic identified here, supported by the dating of closed complexes with metal items and analysis of the ceramic typology and manufacturing technology. The association of different Dacian ceramic types in closed complexes offered clues for a shorter chronology of the complexes.

The present attempt aimed the presentation of the most recent historical and archaeological conclusions regarding the controversial nature of the discoveries made at Măgura Moigradului, as a synthetic approach, to be followed soon, we hope, by the complete monographic study of the site (conclusions for the 1984-1995 excavations).

⁴² V. Crișan, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁴³ The calculus used the minimal value of 5 members.

⁴⁴ H. Pop, *Der Nordwesten Dakiens von den Dako-Römischen kriegten*, Sargetia XXVI/1, 1995-1996, p. 257; idem, *Nord-vestul Daciei în preajma războaielor daco-romane*, paper presented at the symposium *The Dacian-Roman Wars from the time of Trajan*, Deva-Geoagiu, 7-9 November 1996.

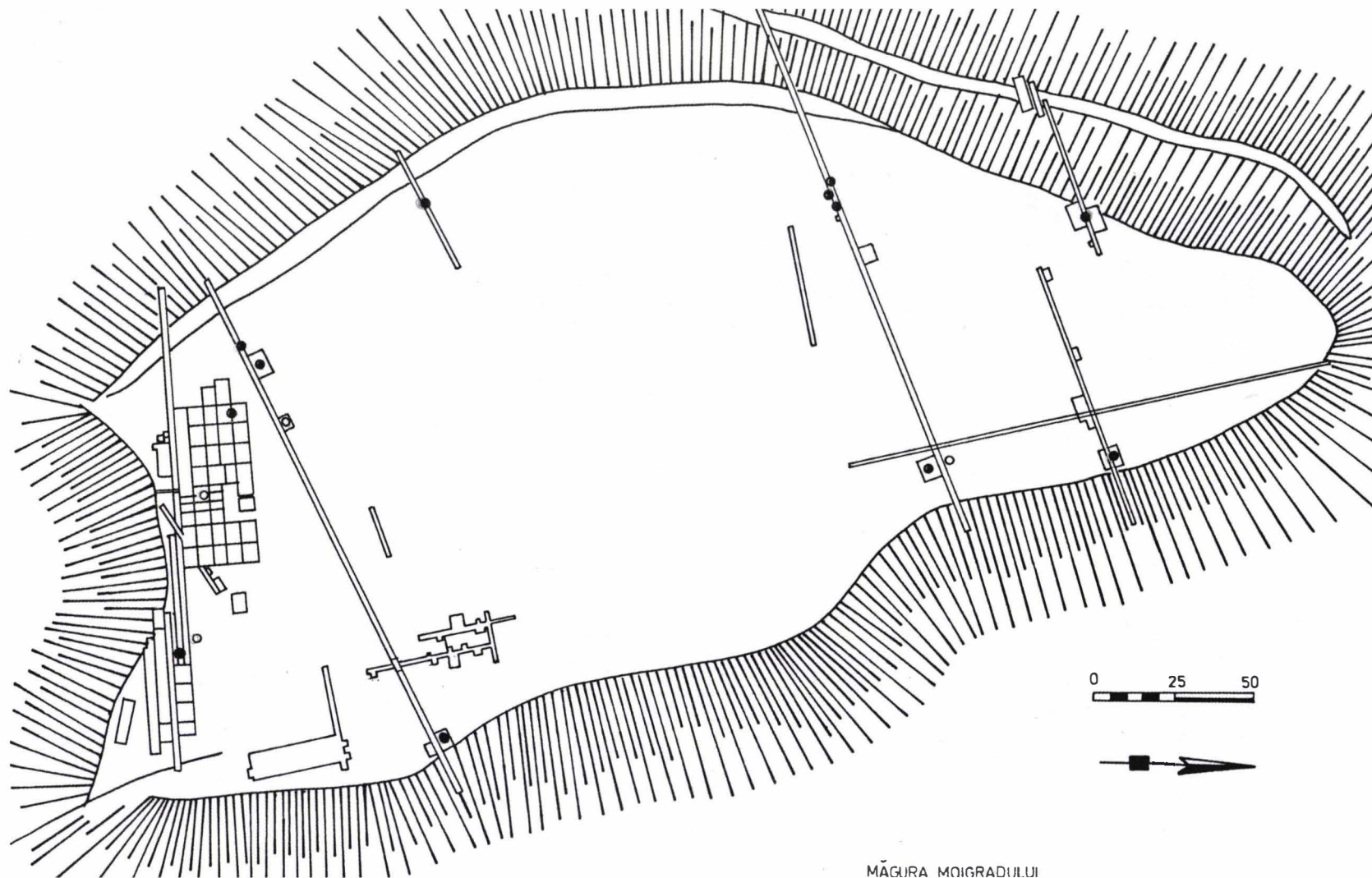


Plate 1: Măgura Moigradului. The general plan of the excavations (1958-1959, 1984, 1987-1995). The empty circles and partially filled circles represent the dwellings dated at the end of the second century BC-first century BC. The filled circles represent dwellings dated in the first century AD.

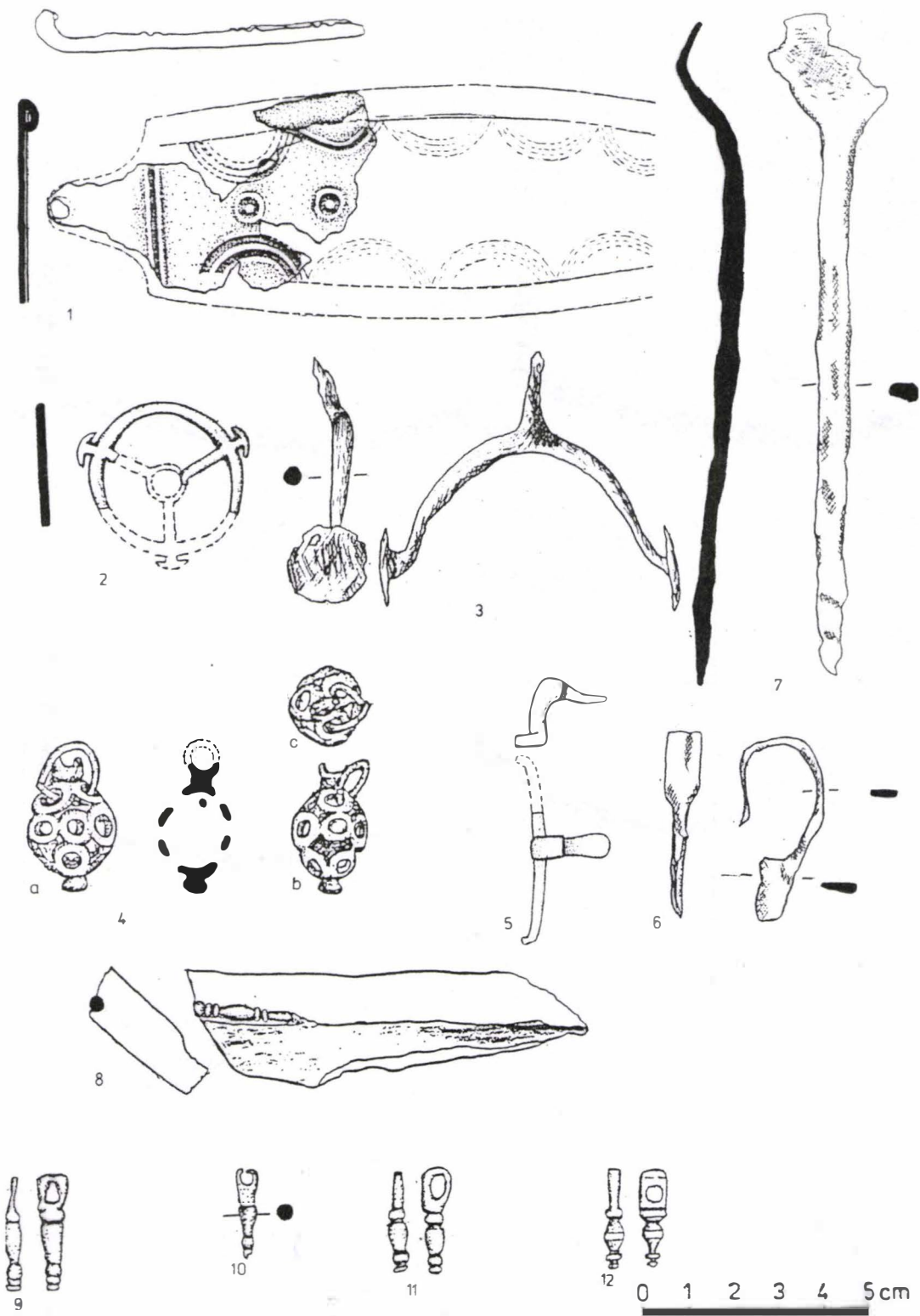


Plate 2: Metal items discovered in Dacian complexes from Măgura Moigradului. Older horizon the end of the second century BC first century BC (1-4, 7), later horizon first century AD (5, 6, 8-12). Belt plate (1), pendants (2, 4, 8-12), spur (3), spoon (7), buckle (5), broche (6). Iron with bronze plate (1), iron (3, 6, 7), bronze (5, 8-12), silver (2, 4).

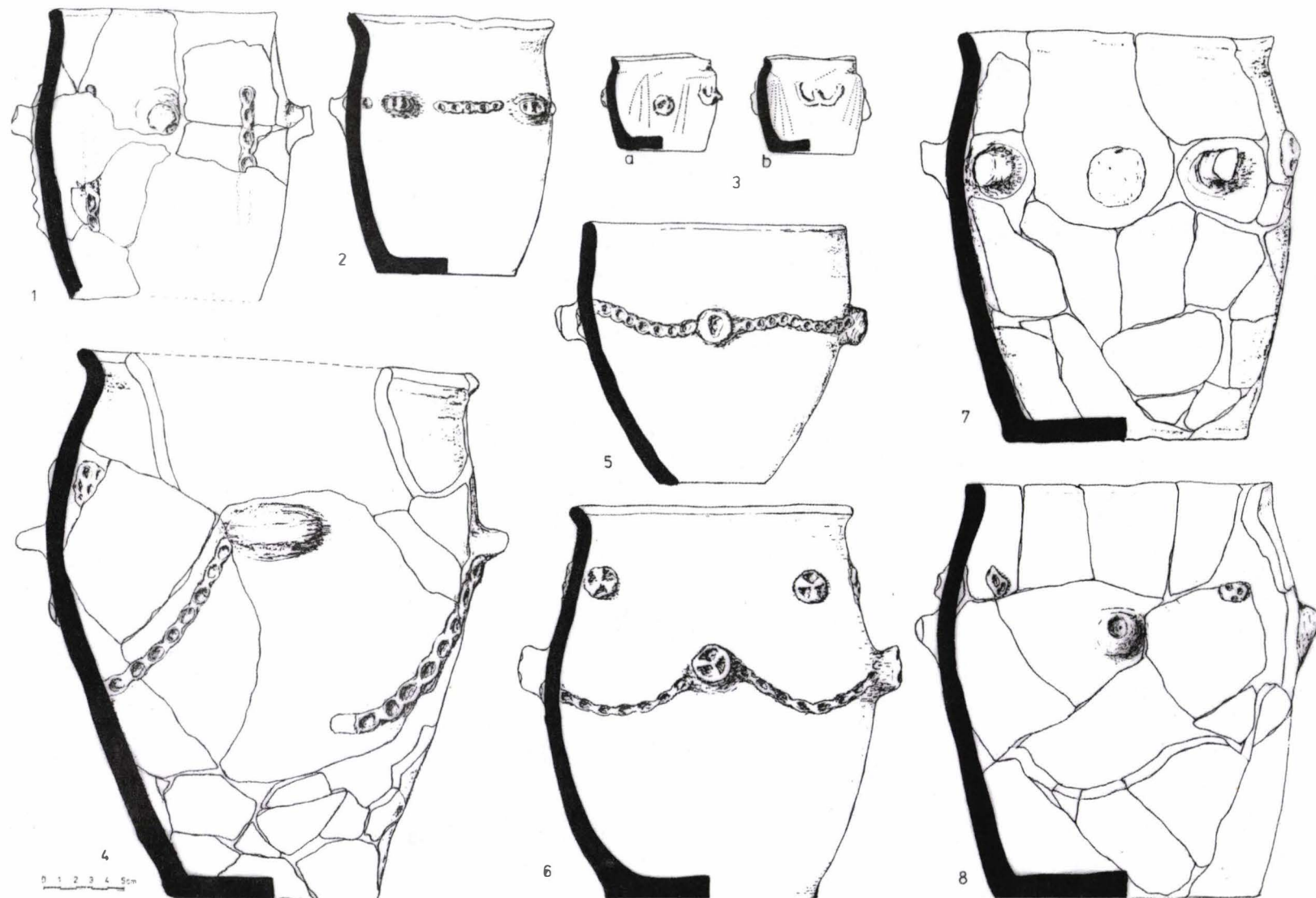


Plate 3: Hand-made Dacian pots from complexes found on Măgura Moigradului (the end of the second century BC first century BC).

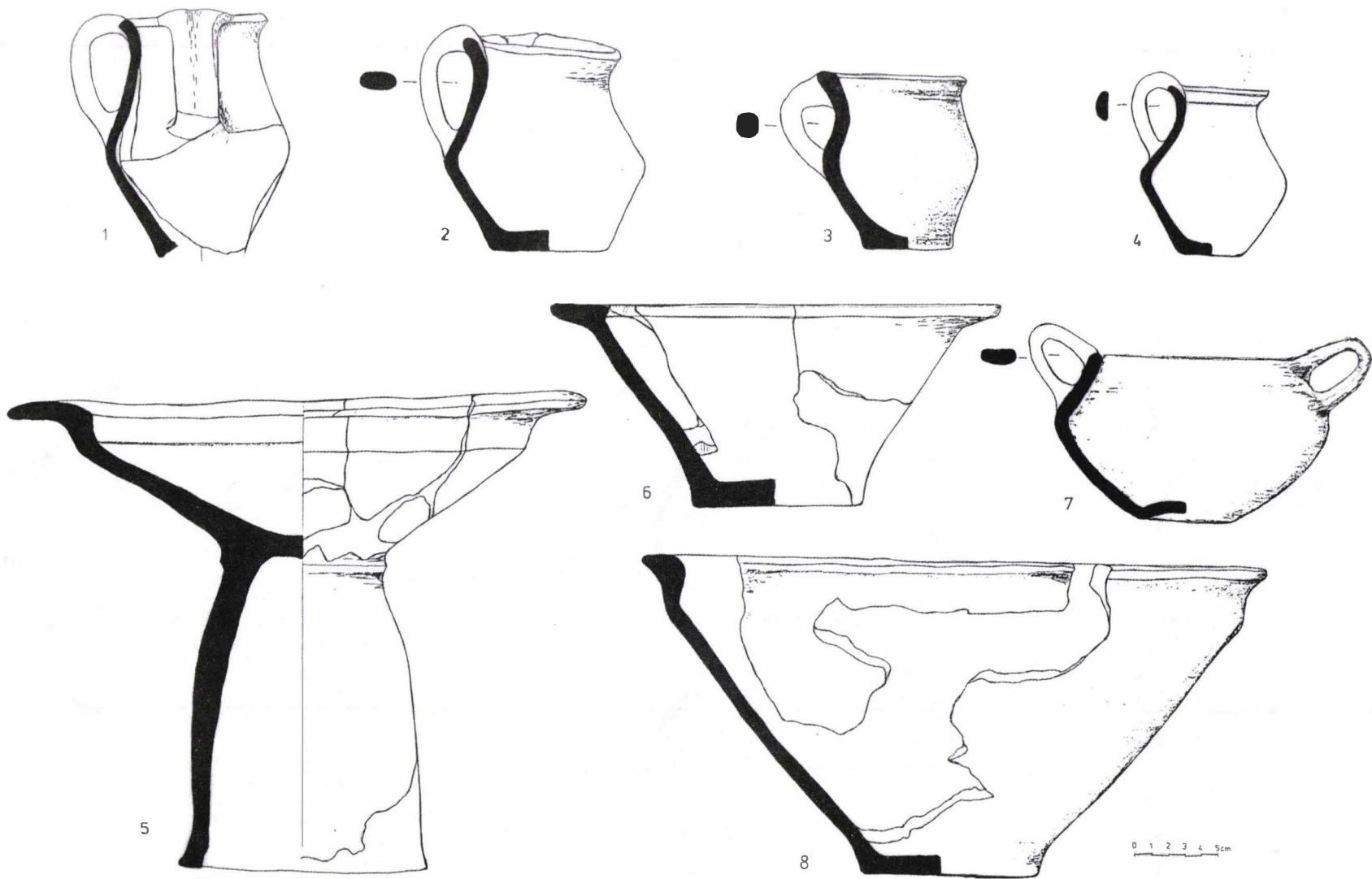


Plate 4: Hand-made Dacian pottery from complexes found on Măgura Moigradului (the end of the second century BC-first century BC)
Mugs (1-4), fruit-bowls (5), porringers, bowls (6, 8), kantharos (7).

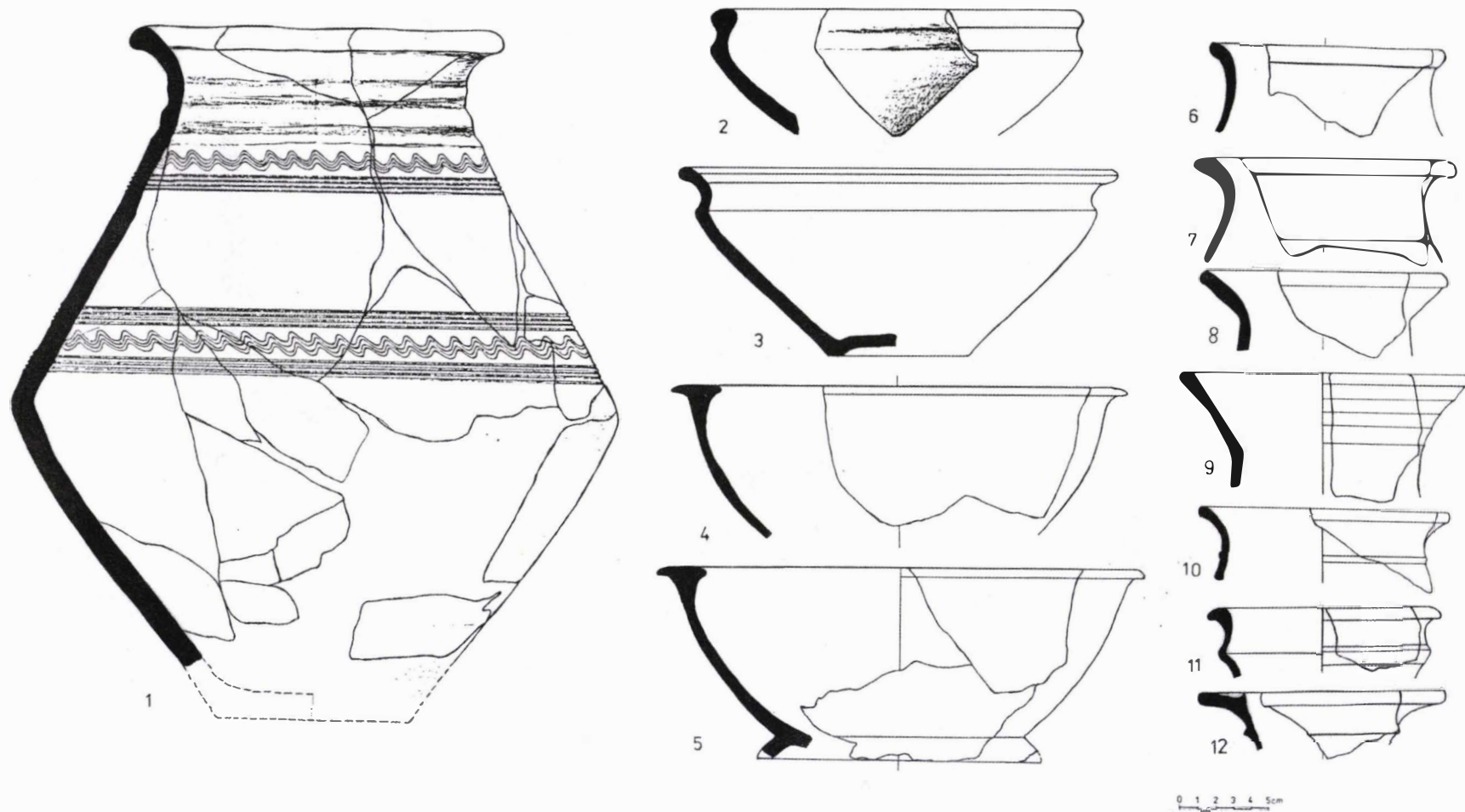


Plate 5: Wheel-made Dacian pottery from complexes found on Măgura Moigradului (the end of the second century BC-first century BC). Mugs (6-12), porringers (2/5), storage vessels (1).

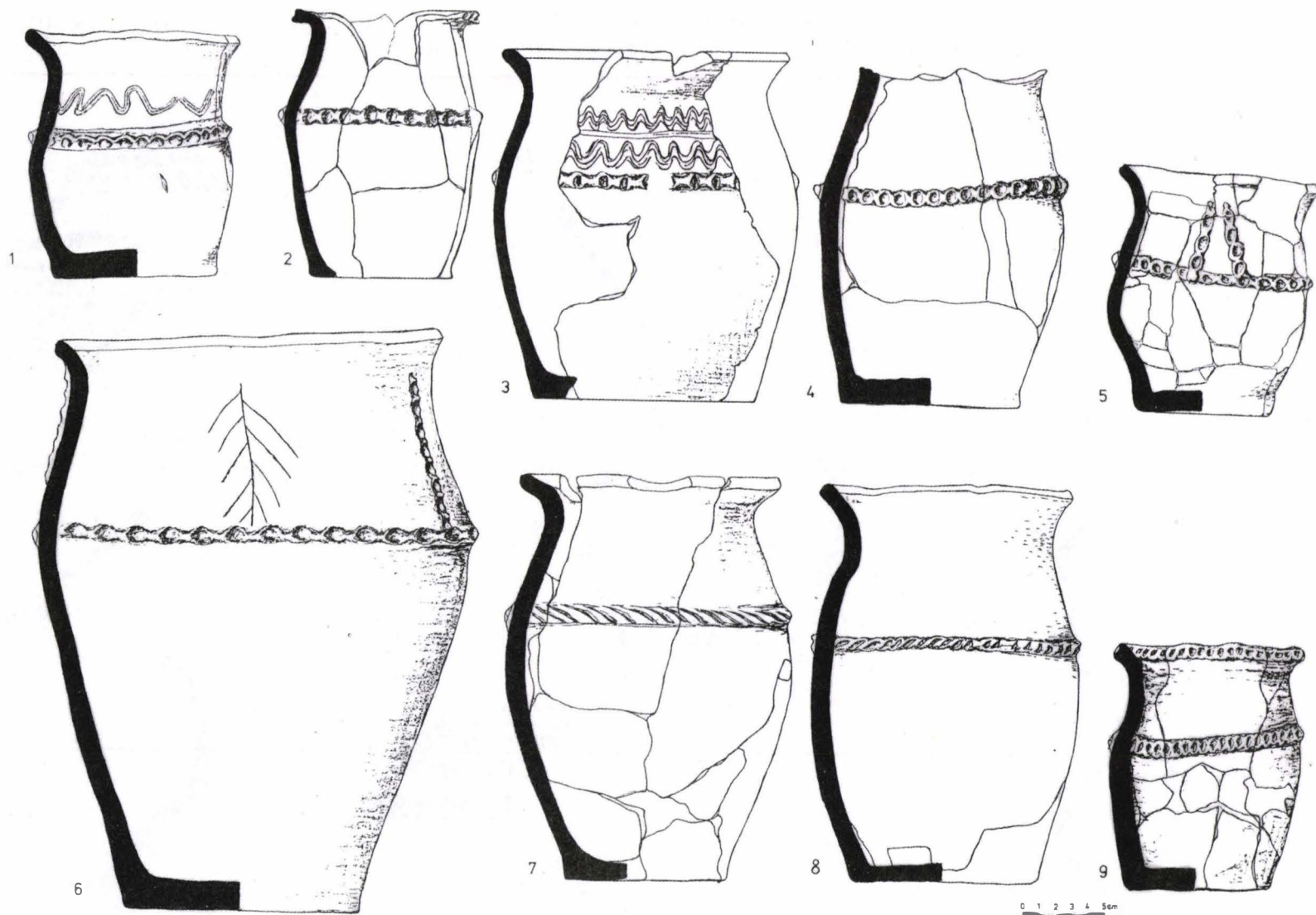


Plate 6: Hand-made Dacian pots from complexes found on Măgura Moigradului (first century AD).

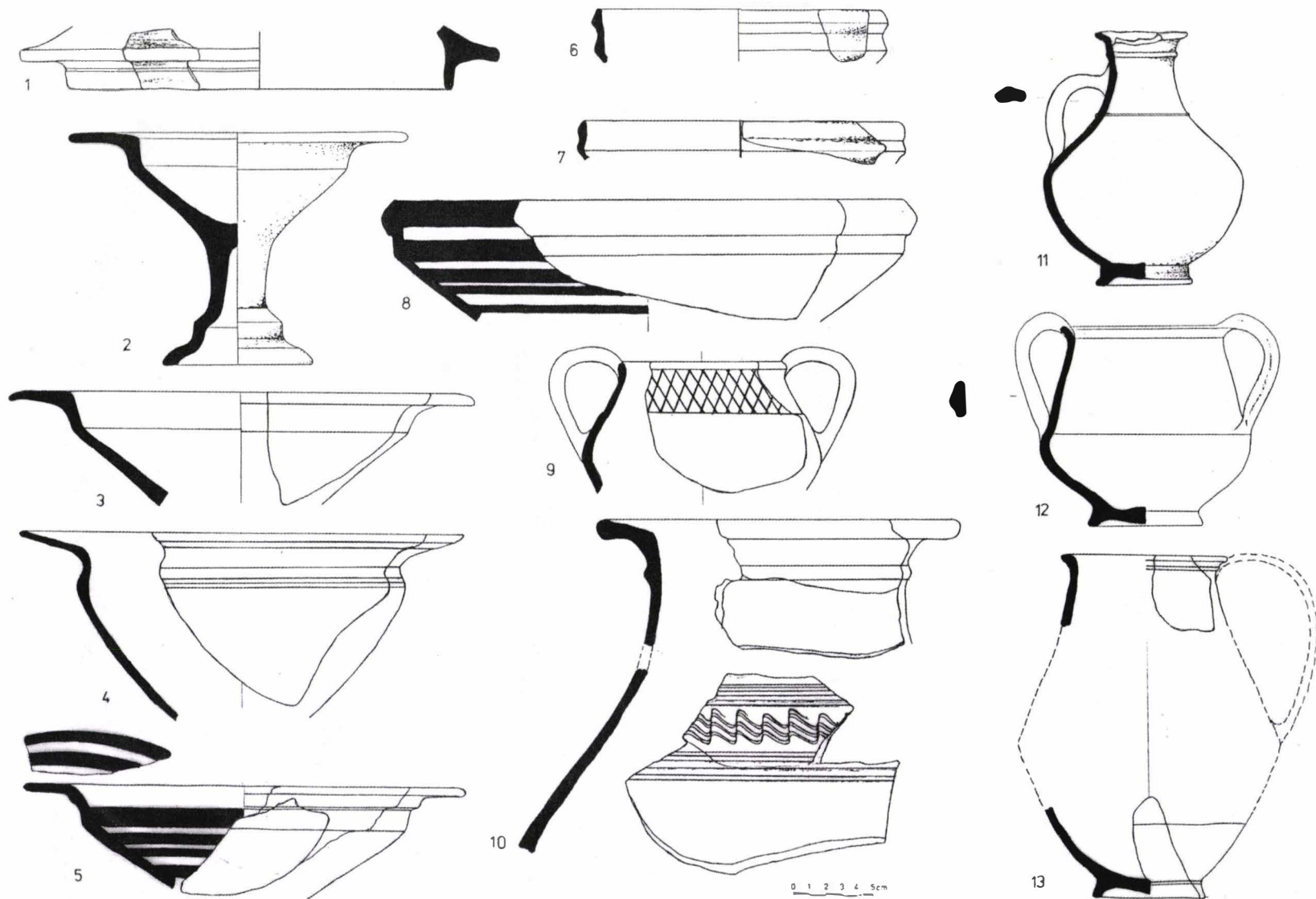
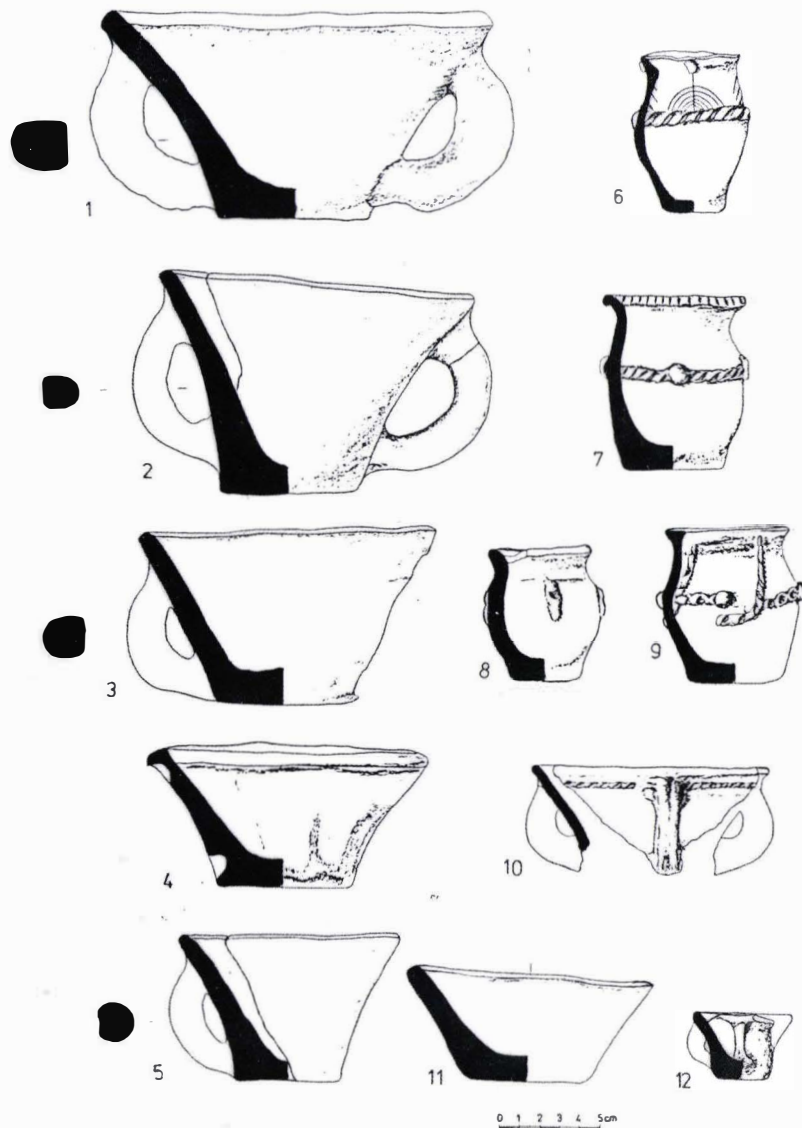
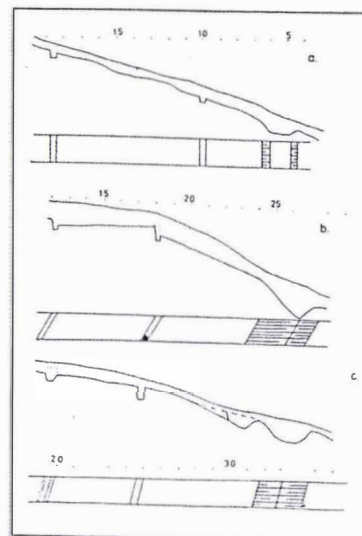
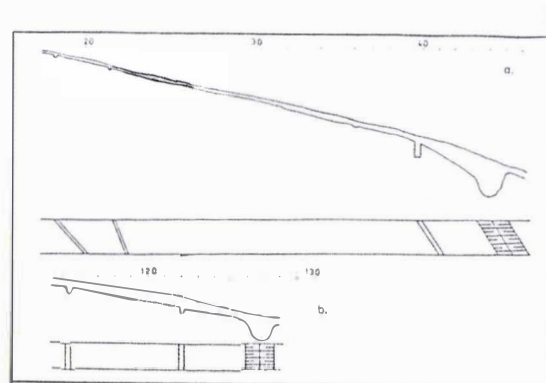


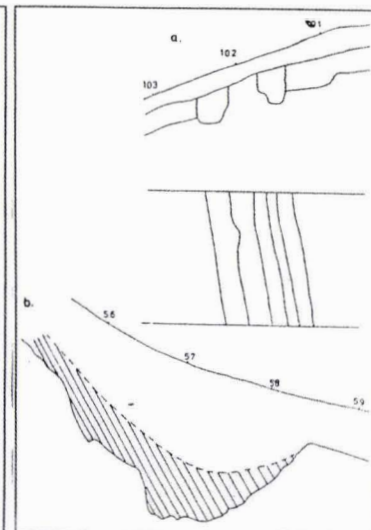
Plate 7: Wheel-made Dacian pottery from complexes found on Măgura Moigradului (first century AD). Mugs (13), porringers (6, 7), storage vessels (10), bowls (8), kantharoi (9, 12), lids (1), fruit-bowls (3-5), cups (2), pitchers (11).



13



14



15

Plate 8: Hand-made Dacian pottery from complexes found on Măgura Moigradului (first century AD). Rushlight cups (1-5, 12), miniature pots (6/9).



Plate 9: Plans and schematic profiles of the Dacian defensive elements from Măgura Moigradului (13-15).

„ARTEMIS VENDIS / VASSILEIA”: PHOCEAN ASPECTS OF A NORTHERN CULTURE

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Key-Words: rock sanctuaries, cave rituals, Greek religion, northern culture.

The term “Rocky Sanctuary” [“sanctuaire rupestre”] was in use to describe the city sanctuaries of goddesses such as Demeter and Persephone, founded by the first Greek colonists in Southern Italy and Sicily [“Magna Graecia”]¹.

These sanctuaries combined the cut-in-rock chambers, known in greek religion as places where *cave rituals* were performed² – with a façade of a normal temple, in the Doric order. Their function is considered as “official”, “state-like” – in other words, they were considered as important, central sanctuaries, their rituals having something to do with the religious motives the first colonists brought along with them from *Mainland Greece*.

German nineteenth-century archaeologist *Lolling*, the first that studied the famous “Rocky Sanctuary” of *Artemis*, noted that this curious, three-aisled building of classical date – partially curved in the slopes of mount *Kefali*, in the *Phocean town of Antikyra* (**Phot. 3**) (the Antikyra sanctuary, sketch by Lolling) (**Phot. 4**) (the Antikyra sanctuary, recently taken photographs) was very important – because it was the only one of its type in Mainland Greece, that came to his attention³. The other examples he could offer are to be found in Asia Minor...

Lolling seemed to ignore the “Rocky Sanctuaries” of “Magna Graecia” – yet, he is not to be blamed for something the archaeological research would not come in terms with, until many decades later... The Asian “rocky sanctuary” he is having in mind is undoubtedly *Yasilikaya* –in central Asia Minor- dedicated to the cult of *Astarte/Artemis*⁴.

So, our type of sanctuary is to be found in Central Greece, in Magna Graecia – and in Asia Minor. Dedicated to Goddesses [and also to male gods] is strongly connected with city / i.e. “official” rituals⁵. In the late 20th century, as the archaeological research progressed, we begun to understand –more and more- the pattern :

Originating from Central Greece, the *rocky sanctuary model* is to be found almost everywhere in the Greek World : The Antikyra Sanctuary, that housed one of the masterpieces of sculptor *Praxiteles* (**Phot. 5**) (statue base), is placed in the middle of an area full of such sanctuaries : This area is identical with *Central Greece itself*...

The Aesculapius sanctuary (in Naupactus⁶), the sanctuary of *Oeanthea* described by *Pausanias*⁷, the recently found rocky sanctuary at *Pente Oria [Chaleum]* possibly dedicated to

¹ Le DINAHET, p. 143-4.

² ΗΙΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΣ, ~ 3-4.

³ LOLLING, p. 229-232, pl. 7.

⁴ Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut – AUSGRABUNGEN / FORSCHUGEN, Seit 1950, p. 44.

⁵ GRAF, p.63.

⁶ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, X, 38, 9.

⁷ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, X, 38, 9-10 και 12-13.

*Apollo, Artemis and Aesculapius*⁸ (Phot. 5) (rocky sanctuary at Pente Oria), (Phot. 6, 7) (rock-cut niches in the Pente Oria sanctuary), the sanctuary of Trophonius in Levadeia⁹ (Phot. 8) (19th-c. gravure of the Trophonius sanctuary) – and, of course, the Delphi sanctuary itself (Phot. 9, 10) (rocky sanctuary to the north of, Apollo temenos, Delphi)! This pattern passed over to Asia Minor and Sicily – and also to *Macedonia* and *Thrace* (As we take a look at the *Philippi* rocky sanctuaries, we realize that the Artemis of the rocky reliefs is that *at the type of Kynagetis*, the Praxitelian one, known from Athens¹⁰ and Antikyra (Phot. 11, 12, 13) (Philippi, rocky sanctuaries).

The form under which Artemis was worshipped in Thrace, is that of *Vendis* or *Vassileia*, a type of “*potnia theron*” [“mistress of the hunting”] : Its characteristic “sack”, the conical covering / “hat” on her head, is known from statuettes found in the *Antikyra Archaic Cemetery*¹¹ – and her name can be seen in a stone-cut inscription from modern coastal town Glypha¹² [possibly ancient *Oeanthea*¹³], near modern Naupactus.

We reach the conclusion that *Phocis* and *Western Locris*, “*ethne*” of Central Greece, played an important role in forming the Orphic / Thracian cult of *V e n d i s*: We shouldn’t forget that *Pylades*, Orestes colleague who helped him bringing the statue of Artemis from Krimaia to Greece (according to the ancient drama tradition), was a Phocian!¹⁴

There are two features of the rocky sanctuaries’ cult, that give it its unique character : First of all, its *complexity* : Beyond its primal deity, a rocky sanctuary houses more “secondary” deities / cults. In Antikyra, it houses many “*forms*”/“*eponyms*” of Artemis (Phot. 14, 15) (inscriptions of the Antikyra sanctuary, that include various eponyms of Artemis). This complexity is reflected in modern *Dhistomon*, where , in a Christian church dedicated to *Aghia Paraskevi* / *Aghios Panteleimon*, a 3rd c. B.C. marble base fragment is holding the following inscription :

]] ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑΙ
ΠΡΟΜΑΘΕΙ

i.e., Αρτέμιδι Σωτείραι
Προμαθεί

<...to Artemis saviour
...to Prometheus >

3rd c. B.C.

¹⁵(Phot. 16, 17) (inscription of *Aghia Paraskevi* / *Aghios Panteleimon* church, *Dhistomon*)

The inscription belongs to a dedication to both Artemis and Prometheus

Deukalion, the *son of Prometheus*, was the patriarch of the post-cataclysm phase of humanity – and, according to Phocian mythology, his boat [a parallel to Moses’ boat – if we want to search for biblical references] landed, after the cataclysm, on top of mount Parnassus – only few kilometers far from this *Dhistomon* church... But the most important clue for our research, is that *Prometheus belongs to the old order of gods, he is the one that is punished by the “new leader” Jupiter ,being tied up in a rock on Caucasus Mountain – his connection with*

⁸ Σ.ΡΑΠΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1, σ.17.

⁹ see note “6”.

¹⁰ Μ.ΜΠΡΟΥΣΚΑΡΗ, σ. 91-2.

¹¹ Σ.ΡΑΠΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 2.

¹² I.G.IX, J, “PHOKIS – INSCRIPTIONES LOCORUM OCCIDENTALIUM”, p. 92, no 355.

¹³ Χρονικά Α.Δ. 2003, Φωκίδα [under publication].

¹⁴ M.BROOKS BERG, p. 232.

¹⁵ Σ.ΡΑΠΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1, σ.12.

*North – Eastern cult being more than obvious... And, as a carrier – stealer of the divine fire, is pretty close to Artemis –and her form of **Pyrforos**, “the light-carrier” . The sister of Apollo is widely known and respected in Northern cultures...*

Then, in almost all these sanctuaries, we meet the custom of *manumissions* :

The ultimate dedication to the God is the *human life*, a life that is dedicated «ἐπ’ἐλευθερία» ,”to be free”: Here we have the connection to the Orphic / Early Christian culture : A «δούλος θεού»-*slave to god* is not claiming that his slavery is a god-sent gift – on the contrary, he is saying that he is *free in the name of god* :

The “800-name bearer” *polygonal wall* of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi (**Phot. 18**) (the Polygonal Wall in Delphi) >is the ultimate monument of freedom, in an ancient society that believed in freedom beyond the socio-economic context of its era¹⁶...

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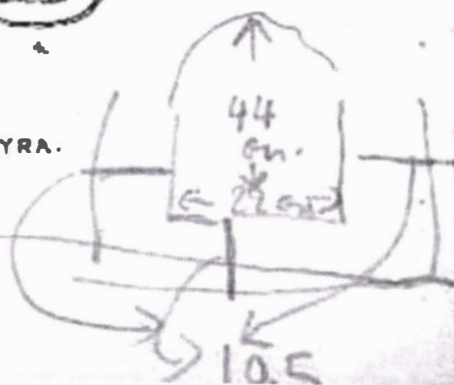
Σ.ΡΑΠΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1 – Σ.ΡΑΠΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, «Το βραχῶδες Ιερό στην Φωκική Αντίκυρα, Δελφοί 2005.

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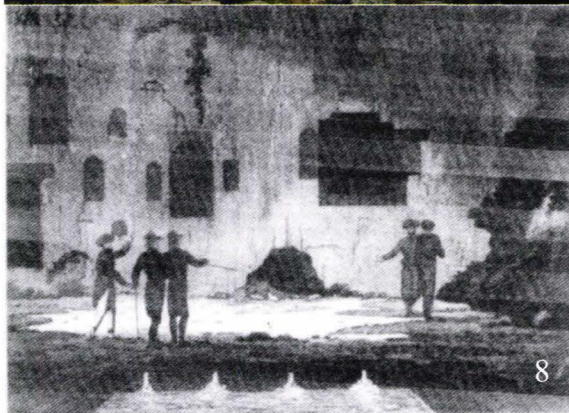
¹⁶ Σ.ΡΑΠΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1, σ. 19.



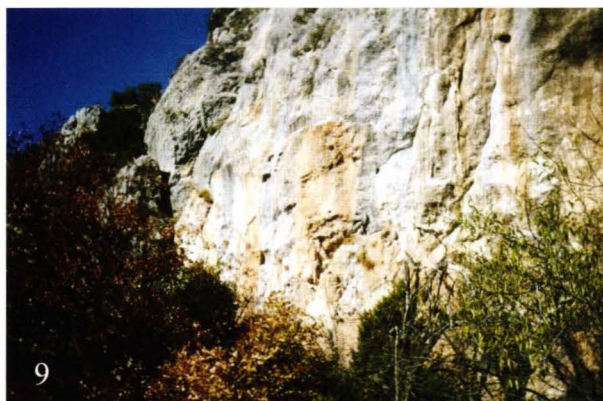
ARTEMISHEILIGTUM BEI ANTIKYRA.



Phot. 1 (the Antikyra sanctuary, sketch by Lolling).



Phot. 2, 3 (the Antikyra sanctuary, recently taken photographs). **Phot. 4** (statue base). **Phot. 5** (rocky sanctuary at Pente Oria). **Phot. 6, 7** (rock-cut niches in the Pente Oria sanctuary). **Phot. 8** (19th-c. gravure of the Trophonius sanctuary).



LES RELIEFS RUPESTRES

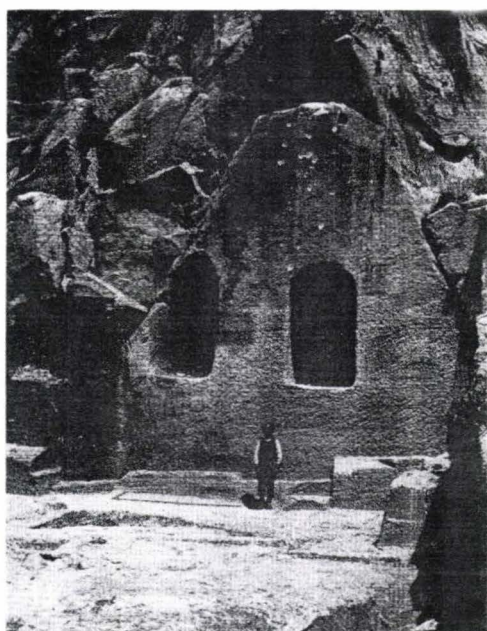


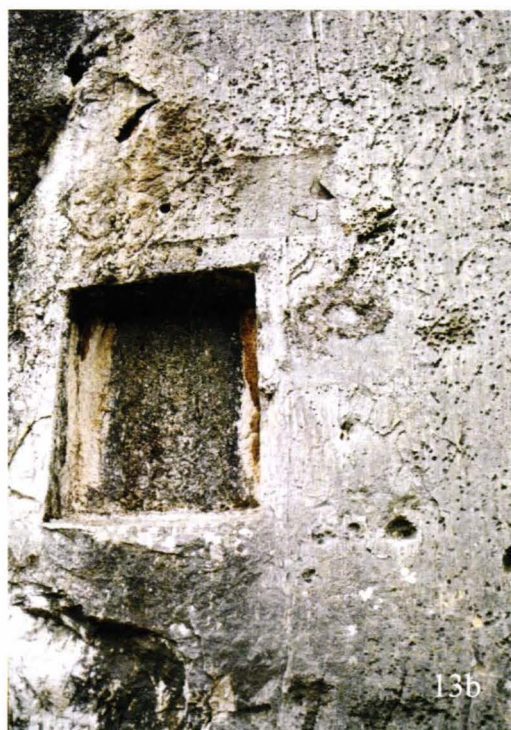
Fig. 5. — Le sanctuaire aux niches.



Fig. 20. — Reliefs 9, 10 (Diane), 131 (figures féminines) et 165 (inachevé).

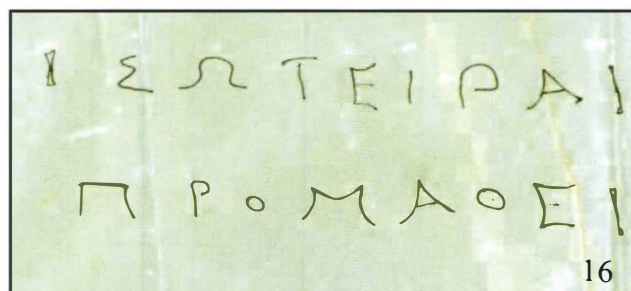


13a



13b

Phot. 9, 10 (rocky sanctuary to the north of Apollo temenos, Delphi). **Phot. 11, 12** (Philippi, rocky sanctuaries). **Phot. 13a** (sketch of an Antikyra coin). **Phot. 13b** (inscriptions of the Antikyra sanctuary, that include various eponyms of Artemis).



Phot. 14 (inscriptions of the Antikyra sanctuary, that include various eponyms of Artemis). **Phot. 15, 16** (inscription of Aghia Paraskevi / Aghios Panteleimon church, Dhistomon). **Phot. 17** (the Polygonal Wall in Delphi). **Phot. 18** (IVth c. Clay statuette of Artemis Vendis from the ancient cemetery of Antikyra).

RITUAL AND INVENTORY IN A DACIAN SACRED ENCLOSURE - PIETROASA MICĂ - GRUIU DĂRII (1st century BC-1st century AD)

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Key-words: Dacians, sacred enclosure, inventory, rituals.

Abstract. The mound deposits and *in situ* fireplaces indicate specific rituals, as we know these vestiges could not have been simply thrown in them. The cleaning of the area for the upcoming deposit, the ring of stones and the fireplace set into place, the deposits of items, the successive layers of materials etc., all these constitute with no doubt a certain ritual. The ample fitting outs in the area, the walls that were put into place and maintained, the rich inventory and the rituals that took place here stand proof of the importance of the enclosure to the sacred life of the Dacian communities in the area. The monumentality and richness of the votive deposits in *Gruiu Dării* constitute incontrovertible proof that this was a major sacred center for the Geto-Dacians, an impressive *temenos*.

1. Introduction. Since our purpose is to merely introduce some of the features of the inventory and a few possible rituals, we shall not insist on other aspects of the site, which can be found in the monographs and studies already published (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu 2004, p. 183-214 ; Sîrbu, Ștefan, Garganciuc, Matei 2004, p. 72-75 ; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005). We shall only refer to the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD, the period for which we have enough data, as the discoveries from the 4th-3rd c. BC are too few and their nature is still unclear. It is necessary, however, to introduce the main features of the site in order to have a full understanding of the topics we shall approach.

2. Topography. The site is on a promontory (altitude 534m) of the Istrița massive, in the Southern Sub-Carpathians, looking truncated, with three steep sides and the fourth, to the west and north-west, being a gentle, accessible slope; to the north and the east, the cape is bordered by the river Dara.

3. The enclosure. Only about 2500m² of the enclosure have been preserved, since the sides to the south and the east have been destroyed, in time, by the limestone quarries; perhaps, in the Dacian era, the enclosure had about 3500m² (Fig. 6).

Terraces. A number of terraces were built, one to the north and several the south of the enclosure, towards the plains.

4. Fortification system. Since the southern and eastern sides of the enclosure were destroyed by the limestone quarries, we cannot say anything about the fortification that was once there. As for the north-western and northern sides, the foundation of the walls, sometimes even the first slabs of the elevation have are still standing. One could notice two stages in the construction of the walls, which, for the most part, follow the same route. The wall from the last stage is 2.00-2.20m tall and the inner wall face was preserved for a height of 1.20m at most, mostly the foundation, with eight apses. The slabs, usually polished on the visible side, were

held together with a white-yellowish bonder. The *emplecton* consists of small and medium-sized pebbles, bonded with yellow soil (Fig. 5).

5. Chronology. Only 11 complexes and isolated items have survived from the 4th-3rd c. BC, but their chronology is tight: Greek-amphorae stamps, fibulae, coins, Dacian vessels etc. (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 22, 42-43 ; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, p. 15-16).

The 1st c. BC – 1 c. AD period is well documented in terms of the stratigraphy and complexes, as well as of the large variety of items, where the dozens of fibulae are clear chronological markers (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005).

6. Type of complexes. In the almost 1200m² that were excavated so far, one has found, from the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD, only three types of clearly defined complexes: a) mound-like deposits, mostly with rings and fireplaces *in situ* or deposited, b) isolated fireplaces and c) pits. In the 2001-2007 interval alone, in the over 300sqm excavated in the enclosure and on Terrace I, one has found 111 complexes: 70 mound-like deposits, 14 isolated fireplaces and 15 pits; there were also another 12 complexes, with unclear typology (Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, p. 15-20, 65-90, plus the discoveries from the 2006-2007 campaigns) (Fig. 1-4, 7-8).

The research on Terrace I, from 2006-2007, has determined that such votive deposits were also outside the enclosure; the situation on the other terraces remains to be established by future excavations.

The previous campaigns, from 1974-1989, when about 800sqm were researched, found the same kind of complexes; although their numbers were not clearly established, based on the documentation preserved, there were about 100 of them (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p.18-20).

It is difficult to estimate, before researching the entire enclosure, what is the number of complexes and if there are some location and orientation patterns. On the other hand, we can say that in all of the areas researched, in various parts of the enclosure, one has found all the types of complexes. Only the south-western side of the enclosure, where the rock reaches the surface, is less likely to have had such complexes.

We also do not know how these deposits were made - in a certain direction or clustered – because of two things. On the one hand, we do know, for sure, which was the entrance to the enclosure and, on the other, not all the complexes included items with a narrower dating, which would establish a clearer chronology (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 22, 42-43 ; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, p. 65-90, annex 1).

We will now discuss the types of complexes in the enclosure.

a). *Votive mound deposits with ring at the bottom* – 53 instances, 9 of which have *in situ* fireplaces and 8 deposited fireplaces, are the most diverse, in terms of shape, contain the richest materials and pose the hardest problems, so they can be considered characteristic of the enclosure. Round or oval, with diameters ranging between 0.40 and 1.80m, they have a ring, more or less compact, at the bottom, made of stones of various sizes, sometimes including even Hellenistic-Roman grinders or grinder fragments. Some of the deposits, such as C16 and C19, look like genuine shrines, since they are massive stone constructions, high above the fitting out level, and the burnt fireplaces prove that rituals were performed on them (Fig. 3-4).

Sometimes, there is a mother-ring and other circular or semi-circular fitting outs, either inside it (e.g. C46) or attached to it (e.g. C3, C29), where individual item deposits were found.

In some cases, *in situ* fireplaces were found in this type of complexes, usually smaller ones, but sometimes using its entire surface (e.g. C16, C19 – Fig. 3-4). No fire remains were found on these fireplaces (coals, ash) and, usually, no whole items either. The height of these

complexes, probably hemispheric, is difficult to establish, given their erosion in time; the heights preserved are between 0.20 and 0.50m.

Inside these complexes, one found fragments of dwelling walls or fireplaces, stones, animal bones and, rarely, pieces of coal, plus an archaeological inventory – entire or fragmentary items (**Fig. 3-4**). We are often dealing with whole items, including clay vessels, sometimes broken *in situ*.

b) *The ring-less votive mound deposits* – 17 instances, consist of agglomerations of stones (e.g. C48), of animal bones, rarely anatomically connected (e.g. C49), of pieces of burnt dwelling walls (e.g. C24) or of pottery fragments, animal bones and stones (e.g. C61). In these deposits, one has found fewer whole items, such as tools, weapons, adornments etc., but these did show up in all of the areas researched.

c). *Isolated fireplaces*. Also, in all of the areas researched, but in different concentrations (for instance, in S17, out of three complexes, three were fireplaces) one has found isolated fireplaces (14 instances) of various sizes, with more or less intense signs of burning. There are cases where one fireplace succeeded another (e.g. C52, C68 and C79). The remains of the fire were almost never found deposited on the fireplace or around it. This observation could mean they were connected to the mound deposits in that, after the rituals were performed, the remains of the fire were deposited in this type of complexes. There is also proof to that end: in S9, half of a destroyed fireplace (C10) was placed in the mound deposit next to it (C3).

d) *Pits* – 15 instances, are a type of complex spread in all of the areas but containing poor, unrepresentative inventory; sometimes, there are many rocks in them.

From *Terrace I*, where the excavations have only just begun, we will introduce two complexes, both of them from the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD.

Complex C201, of the mound type, oval in shape, has included a large amount of fragments of burnt dwelling walls and numerous vessels and vessel fragments, but no animal bones. Another interesting thing is that although the walls were strongly burned, there were no signs of coals or ash in the complex. Some of the vessels were deposited whole, vertically, and broken afterwards; there are no traces of ulterior burning (**Fig. 17/1**).

In the case of C206, under an oval fitting out of river stones, pottery fragments and rare animal bones, there was a rectangular area made of stone slabs and, underneath it, a layer of black soil with traces of Dacian vessel fragments (**Fig. 17/2**)

Overall, although one has researched an area of about 1200sqm, no *in situ* huts, surface dwellings or workshops were found. Therefore, one unresolved issue is the inhabitation area for those that guarded and maintained the fortifications or those that performed the rituals – inside the enclosure or outside it?

7. The inventory found is rich and varied, with many items deposited whole, including clay vessels, some of them broken *in situ*. Although there are “richer” and “poorer” complexes, no silverwork or coin treasures were found, as have not been any deposits of other categories of items (tools, weapons, wearable items, clay vessels)(**Fig. 9-16**). No typical inventories, namely characteristic item associations can be made for a representative number of complexes. Of course, the importance of the deposits depends on the value of the items in their time and their ritual meaning.

However, the inventory found in the enclosure suggests some selection of the deposits did take place. Otherwise, it would be difficult to account for the extreme scarceness of certain types of items, such as the basic tools for farming (coulters and plow blades, hoes, sickles, rakes), wood processing (axes, saws), blacksmithing (anvils, pincers, hammers) or stone

quarrying (pickaxes, large chisels), all the more so as the area is in a region rich in limestone and forests. On the other hand, there are quite a lot of clay vessels, iron knives and fibulae; the presence of bridle bits and spurs is worth noticing. Another interesting aspect consists of the Hellenistic-Roman stone grinders, whole or fragmentary, deposited either inside rings or included in the rings themselves; their presence points to the presence of certain rituals that implied the ritual grinding of cereals.

8. Rituals. Of course, with no written or iconographic sources to rely on, it is difficult to interpret the rituals that took place here. However, based on the discoveries made so far, one can imagine a certain ritual scenario that applied to the mound deposits with rings and fireplaces.

First, they cleaned the area of the future fitting out, built the stone ring and the fireplace, followed by various rituals in the presence of fire; the existence of isolated fireplaces next to the mound deposits suggests these rituals took place here, not just on the fireplaces inside the complexes. The remains of the fire were carefully picked up, from both the fireplaces in the complexes and those outside them. Inside the rings, they deposited pieces of burnt clay walls, fireplace fragments, animal bones, whole vessels, vessels broken *in situ* or just fragments, as well as other categories of items, whole or fragmentary. It was all covered, in a more or less compact fashion, with burnt wall clay or stones.

There are instances where they deposited, in successive layers, vessel fragments, burnt wall clay or pieces of burnt wall and stones, such as complexes C29, C41 and C45.

Some of the complexes are massive, occupying large surfaces (2-4sqm), have an elevation of at least 0.40-0.50m and contain a rich inventory, such as deposits C2, C16, C19, C33, C41, C45, C63 and C75. There are also many instances where the main ring has smaller rings attached to it, inside or outside, and items were deposited in them, such as complexes C21, C29, C45, C63, C80 etc.

There is also significant variety in terms of the mound deposits – 70 cases. If we look at it from the perspective of the rituals alone, then we could associate the mound deposits (70 instances) with the isolated fireplaces (14 cases), which results, practically, in the existence of a single fitting out of, and manner of performing, the sacred acts. The manner of fitting out the mound deposits and the inventory in them stand proof of the existence of ritual norms, since it is obvious that the presence of vestiges in the enclosure is no accident, but the result of cult acts. The presence of pieces of burnt dwelling walls in most of the complexes is important, but they are never the result of the *in situ* collapse of dwellings or other types of edifices. Instead, the pieces were always brought in and deposited in the mound deposits, with or without rings.

Most of the complexes hold vessels, whole or broken *in situ* (e.g. C1, C2, C4, C18, C24, C33, C43, C45, C80). Importantly, there are cases where the vessels were filled, exclusively, with pieces of wall clay or of fireplaces (e.g. C2, C24) or with vessels with “lids” containing some offerings (e.g. C18, C45)(Fig. 1/6;8). The depositing of whole items, some of them valuable (coins, fibulae, bridles and bridle bits, spurs, pendants etc.) does not make any sense without a strong cult motivation; we are generally dealing with used items, because they show signs of wear and tear.

One has found some human bones – skeletons from two adults and three children, plus four isolated human bones, all of them from adults (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, p. 62-63, fig. 18, 123 ; Soficaru, Stan 2005, p. 107). For the time being, we cannot account for the presence of these human bones – whole or partial skeletons, some of them dismembered and incomplete, plus the isolated bones, in these complexes. In our opinion, they fall in the category of “non-cremated human bones in non-funerary contexts” and could be from human sacrifices or corpse exposure /

decomposing or dismembering practices (Sîrbu 1993, p. 31-36 ; 1997, p. 193-221 ; 2006₁, p. 138-151).

We have no proof in favor of associating the discoveries here with the funerary practices, although the lack of tombs from the Geto-Dacian inhabitation area throughout the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD is an archaeological and historical fact (Sîrbu 1986, p. 91-108; 1993, p. 39-40; 2006, p. 128-136; Babeș 1988, p. 3-32).

The fact that most of the animal bones are from dry or little-meat body parts (head, member extremities, ribs) suggests that some selection took place and that the rest of the body – with a high nutritional value – was consumed during rituals or, simply, at regular meals. This sort of disproportion between the fauna remains could not have been possible in a settlement, where parts from all of the body parts are discovered in equal percentages. Also, the obvious preeminence of the pig – almost 40% of the remains – compared to the other species (Bălășescu, Stan 2005, p. 109-117), is unique among contemporary Dacian settlements.

It is important to point out the importance of the fire in the rituals performed here, as proven by both the isolated fireplaces and the fireplaces inside the rings of the complexes, plus the many fragments of fireplaces inside some of the deposits.

Also, in the case of the items deposited whole – where the observations have relevance – one has found that they were not put through fire on purpose.

Undoubtedly, the discoveries made so far point to the sacred character of the deposits from the enclosure and Terrace I.

9. Final observations.

Where are the offering makers from?

Besides the ample fitting out works of the area for the future enclosure and the erection of the walls, there must have been some people for guarding the enclosure and maintaining the walls, plus the “specialists of the sacred”, which performed the rituals here. All these required important human and material resources that could not be secured solely by the contributions of the surrounding communities, to the extent that we know of them up until now. Close to *Gruia Dării*, one has found Dacian vestiges, not many up until now, so it is possible that the makers of offerings are from the immediate vicinity of the site, based on these facts. Therefore, we believe the offering makers are from communities from a wider area, but one that is impossible to determine.

How can we account for this variety of items?

The study of other cult sites, with varied sources, including written or iconographic ones (*Gifts to the Gods* 1987), suggest that this diversity could be the result of worshipping several deities or of the different occupations of those that made the deposits, or both.

To which deities were these rituals dedicated?

Because, for the time being, no sanctuaries or major figurative representations were found, we cannot opt for any particular deity.

There may have been fitting outs or edifices dedicated to the cult that we have not found yet; if, however, they were in the destroyed area, we will never have any data on them. The discovery of many fireplaces, in mound deposits with stone rings or isolated ones (23 cases), shows, however, that some rituals took place in the open.

The size of the enclosure, the monumental size of some sections of the wall and the long period during which rituals were performed here – about two centuries -, stands proof of the importance of this place as a cult site. The fact that the rituals happened on a tall plateau, around the fire, some of them clearly in the open, and that most of the rings were round could indicate

beliefs and practices dedicated to a solar deity.

On the other hand, the presence of many fragments of dwelling walls and of their inventories, as well as the fireplace fragments, could point to rituals connected to the cult of the household, the hearth and the fire. To that end, we can bring into the discussion, as further proof, the presence of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, namely items that are characteristic of magic practices or witchcraft (Sîrbu 1993₁, p. 58-70; 1993₂, p. 129-175), and the lack of outstanding figurative representations.

Although, as we have already said, some selection is visible, the inventory diversity and the lack of clearly-defined deposited sets of goods are generating some extra problems when it comes to identifying the deities that the offerings were made to. In the absence of written sources, it is difficult to comprehend the meaning of the various categories of items present in the cult sites.

The analysis of the inventories found in a number of south-Thracian cult sites has stressed the diversity of the categories of items deposited in them, a large percentage consisting of adornments, tools, utensils and miniature items (Domaradzki 1994, p. 69-108; Tonkova, Savatinov 2001, p. 95-126; Tonkova 2005, p. 163-185).

If we talk of just the grinders, items so often found in *Gruia Dării*, their presence in a cult site means at least three possible interpretations: a) accessory for preparing the food and drinks for the deities or the ceremony participants, b) *ex-voto* offered to the agrarian deities by the farmers and c) chthonian offering, buried so as to secure fertility and the resumption of the agricultural cycle (Poux 2006, p. 193).

That fact that this enclosure is fortified should be no surprise, since most of the important sacred sites of the “classic” or “barbarian” civilizations were fortified. *Gruia Dării* needed to be fortified for several reasons. As one knows from the general history of religions, the sacred spaces need to be delimited from the profane world and the access to them needs to be restricted (Eliade 1986). Also, on the one hand, the sacred area and the deposits must not be profaned by animals and the goods donated to the deities needed protection from potential robbers. Even in the Dacian world, the important sanctuaries were either inside the fortified area or next to the fortress walls (Daicoviciu 1972, p. 204-266; Crișan 1993, p. 78-122; Antonescu 1984, p. 43-95; Sîrbu 2006₁, p. 21-62).

So far, we have no proof that, initially, a fortress or fortified settlement was here but that, starting at some point, the enclosure was used for votive deposits. Even if the variety of the deposits is higher in the layers from the 1st c. BC and the mound deposits from the 1st c. AD are much more numerous and “standardized”, there are no dwellings from the initial stage either, while the mound complexes are present from that time.

We would like to that three-four layers with this sort of mound deposits from the 1st c. BC – 1st c. AD were found (Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, p. 15-20, 139-141, fig. 12/2; 13).

Why was this place chosen?

As known from the general history of religions, the choice of a sacred site is based on both objective and subjective factors. In *Gruia Dării*, we could determine only the objective characteristics of the site (dominant topographic location, visibility, conditions favorable to defense etc.). The subjective arguments are a matter of the epiphany of some deity here, of some meaningful act that happened in the area, of the manifestation of some natural phenomenon (Eliade 1986 ; 1992, p. 21-63), which we cannot know for lack of written or iconographic sources or of oral traditions. The unique character of the monument makes it even more difficult to understand the meaning of this place and the rituals that took place here, in *Gruia Dării*, but, perhaps, other such sites existed elsewhere too.

We find necessary to stress that, not so far away (about 15km in a straight line), there were two important Dacian cult sites that co-existed throughout the 1st century BC, *Pietroasele-Gruia Dării* and *Cârlomănești-Cetățuie* (Babeș 1975, p. 125-139; 1977, p. 319-352; Babeș *et al.* 2004, p. 76-77; Gugu 2004, p. 249-251).

The situation can be approached a) geographically – the fact that they take care of the sacred aspect in two different areas, b) in terms of the typology of cult sites, in that *Cârlomănești-Cetățuie* was a center of the official religion, while *Pietroasele-Gruia Dării* was a regional cult center or c) as expressing beliefs and rites dedicated to different deities.

Surely, the classification of the cult sites can be based on several criteria, such as: their importance in the Dacian world, topographical location – inside or outside other types of sites, the presence or absence of temples (perhaps also based on their types), the category of artifacts found in them – cult gear, offerings (Conovici, Trohani 1988, p. 205-217; Sîrbu 2006₁, p. 73-75; 2006₂, p. 60-62).

Based on the role and importance of the sanctuaries in the Dacian world, we can distinguish several categories of cult sites.

a). The pan-Dacian religious centers stand out because of the concentrations of various types of sanctuaries, meant to impose certain cults favored by the central political and religious power and served by a hierarchical clergy, as is the case in Sarmizegetusa Regia (Daicoviciu 1959, p. 379-401; Daicoviciu *et al.* 1959, p. 391-399; Daicoviciu *et al.* 1961, p. 301-320; Daicoviciu 1972, p. 207-218, 238-260; Crișan 1993, p. 82-97; Glodariu *et al.* 1996, p. 109-130), Tipia Ormenișului (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40; Costea 2006, p. 175-208), Melcia and Rudele (Daicoviciu 1959, p. 386-391; 1960, p. 311-313; Glodariu 1976, p. 256-257; Vulpe 1986, p. 101-111), and, possibly *Cârlomănești*. Almost all of these discoveries are in the mountains, most of the them are concentrated in the area of the Dacian capital and no relevant figurative representations, treasures or rich offerings were found in them. The exception, from the discoveries made so far, is *Cârlomănești-Cetățuie*, located on an impressive erosion marker from the Buzău valley where, so far, five temples have been found, some of them with and expressive zoomorphic and anthropomorphic plastic art (Babeș 1977, p. 319-352; Sîrbu, 2006₁, p. 36-39).

b) The regional religious centers are represented by enclosures that, because of their size and the wealth of the inventories found in them, could only have been “managed” by larger communities. In Ocnița, one has found underground chambers that point to the performing of rituals and the depositing, afterwards, of rich and varied offerings (Berciu 1981, p. 74-101); it is also in them that one found many fragments from massive walls that could have been from sanctuaries, as also suggested by the pit alignments. The failure to find sanctuaries in other important enclosures, such as *Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării* or *Măgura Moigradului* (Macrea, Rusu, Mitrofan 1962, p. 485-502; Matei, Pop 2001, p. 253-277), is merely the result of the stage of the research or the partial destruction of the site. The many fireplaces, sometimes ornamented, illustrate the important role that fire played in the rituals performed here (Trohani 1986, p. 661-666; Gugu 2004, p. 249-257; Gergova 2007, p. 149-165). Also, one has found zoomorphic and anthropomorphic statuettes and figurines or figurative representations in these sacred enclosures, sometimes skeletons or isolated human bones, a rich and diverse inventory, often consisting of items that are whole or broken on site, sometimes bronze figurative representations (Ocnița). Such enclosures were found in almost the entire area inhabited by the Geto-Dacians, but the presence of some notable differences between them in terms of the type of complexes, cult gear and offerings suggests either the existence of beliefs and rituals characteristic of just some of the communities in the area or shared beliefs expressed differently

(Sîrbu 2006₁, p. 35-46).

c) The cult centers of one or more smaller communities, with a local impact, include discoveries with a smaller number of complexes, with less valuable and diverse artifacts. In some cases, the rituals were performed on that site, such as in Bănești (Peneș 2001, p. 33-34 ; 2002, p. 51 ; 2004, p. 52), but in other cases, only the offerings were deposited, as the cult acts were performed elsewhere, such as in Zvoriștea (Ignat 1983, p. 383-409).

d) Sacred areas were found in almost all of the important Dacian *davae* (those in which ample excavations took place, of course), represented, largely, by rectangular sanctuaries with apses or simple, circular ones, such as in Brad (Ursachi 1995, p. 62-69), Popești (Vulpe 1960, p. 307-310; 1966, p. 27-29), Piscu Crăsani (Conovici 1994, p. 61-83) or Pecica (Crișan 1978, p. 106-108). Usually, there was a single sanctuary and the next ones were built on the same spot. Most likely, on certain occasions, the members of the communities nearby participated in the ceremonies. One did not find valuable figurative representations in these sanctuaries either. Moreover, in Răcățiu (Căpitanu 1994, p. 335-343) or Brad, the outstanding figurative items were not found in the area with the sanctuary. However, since the items were found in pits or the layer, it is difficult to say whether their position here is secondary, so we do not know if they were used in the cult.

Also, votive deposits or the result of ritual acts were found outside the sanctuary or the settlements.

Sometimes, animal offerings and items are discovered at the edge of lakes, such as in Conțești (Vulpe, Popescu 1976, p. 217-226), other times – vessels deposited in wells, such as in Ciolănești din Deal (Petrescu-Dâmbovița, Sanie 1972, p. 241-258) or various categories of items found on islands, such as in Căscioarele-*Ostrovel* (Marinescu-Bîlcu 1966, p. 113-123 ; Trohani 2005, p. 221-225).

Quite numerous are also the buried treasures consisting of wearable items, the kind we have in Lupu (Glodariu, Moga 1994, p. 33-49), of coins and silver items (Horedt 1973, p. 127-167), whose features prove we are dealing with votive deposits; there are also the deposits of iron “looking glasses”, tools and weapons, such as in Lozna (Teodor, Șadurschi 1979).

These discoveries prove that, besides a number of types of sanctuaries that are rather widespread, suggesting similar deities and rituals, namely the official cult, served by a hierarchical clergy, we need to accept a higher diversity of regional beliefs in the Geto-Dacian society, as proven more and more by the archaeological discoveries (Sîrbu 2006₁, p. 99-102).

The many unknown aspects aside, it is crystal clear that the size and wealth of the votive deposits make *Gruia Dării* an important Dacian sacred center, an impressive *temenos*, and that researching and analyzing the vestiges here has substantially enriched our knowledge of the Geto-Dacians' spiritual life.

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Fig. 1. 1. Complexes C16, C17, C18, C19; 2. Complex C16; 3. Complex C19 (detail); 4. Complexes C16 and C19; 5. Complex C17; 6. Complex C18 (after V. Sirbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).



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Fig.2. Complexes C25 (1), C28 (2), C80 (3), C86 (4), C47 (5), C75 (6-8)
(after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

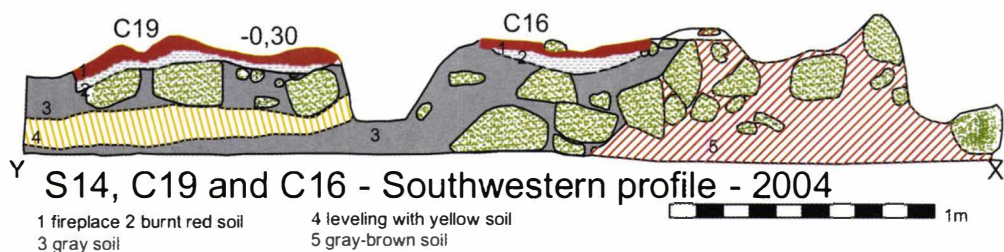


Fig. 3.1

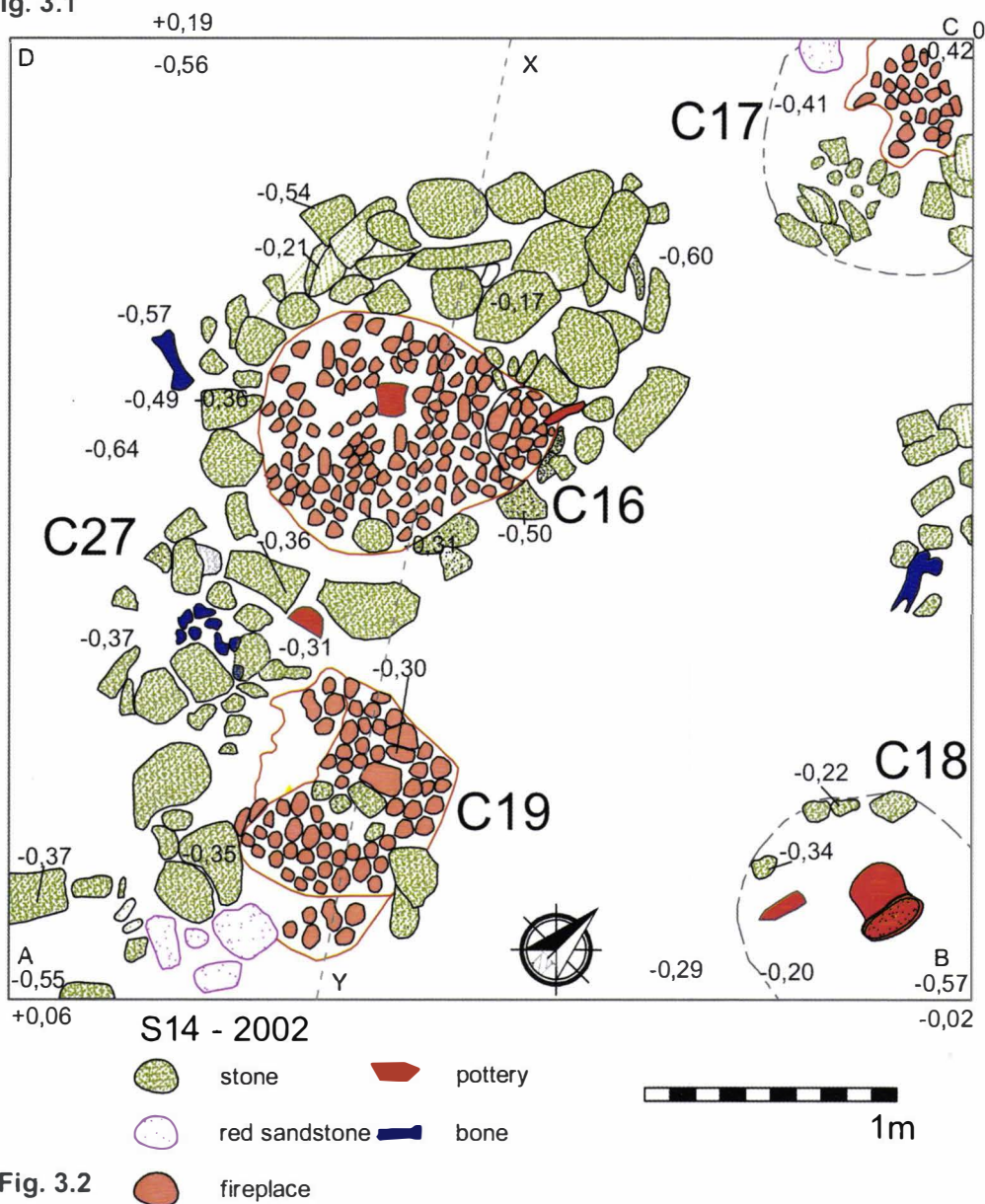


Fig. 3.2

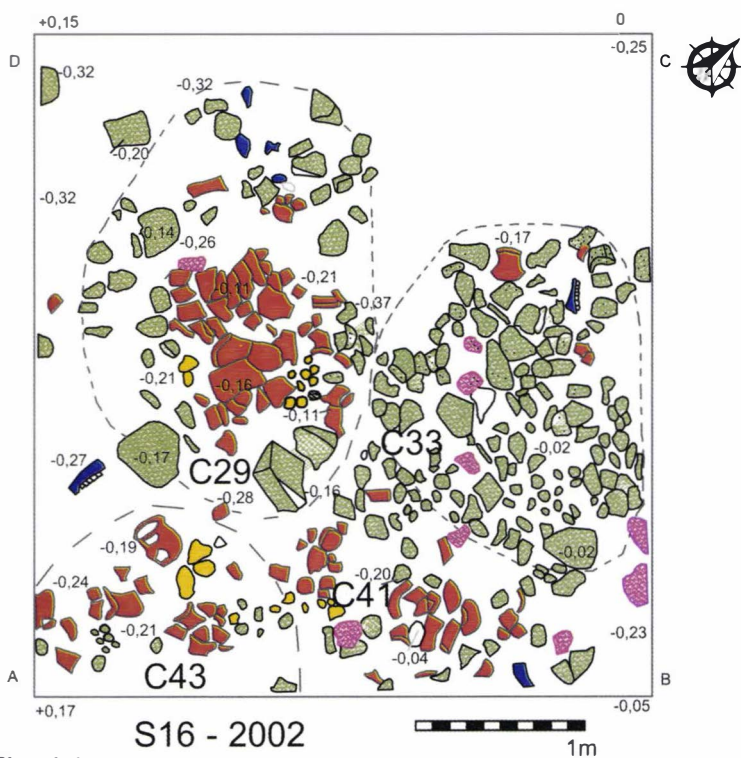


Fig. 4.1

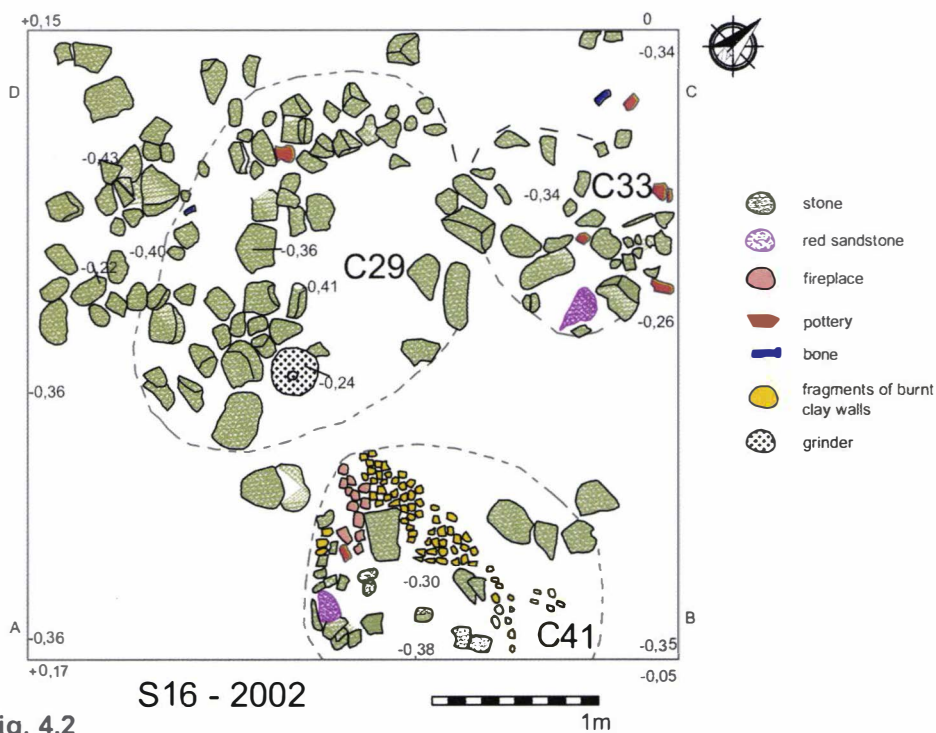


Fig. 4.2



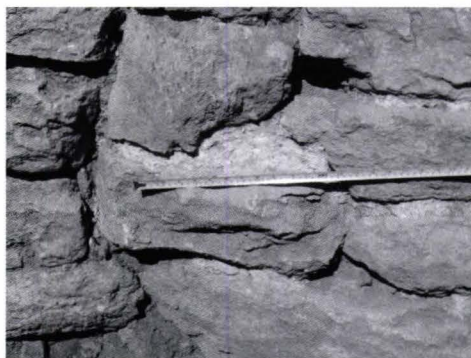
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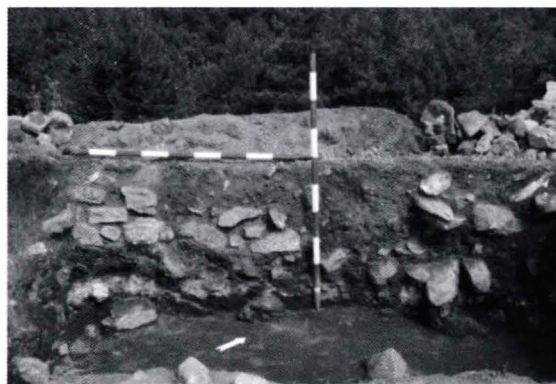
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Fig. 5. Aspects of the western (1-4), northern walls, of S10 (5-6) and S12 (7-8) (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).



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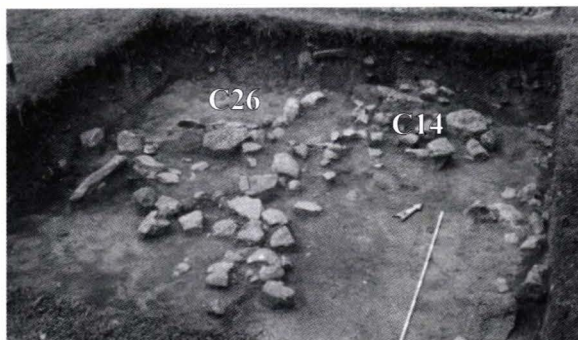


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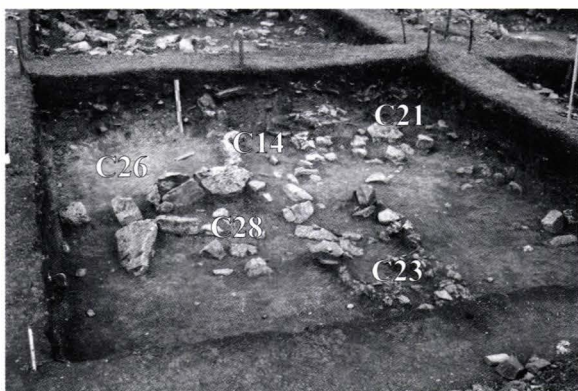
Fig. 6. Enclosure aspect of the excavation (1) and Surfaces S12 (2), S11 (3), S14 (4), S15 (5), S20 (6) (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).



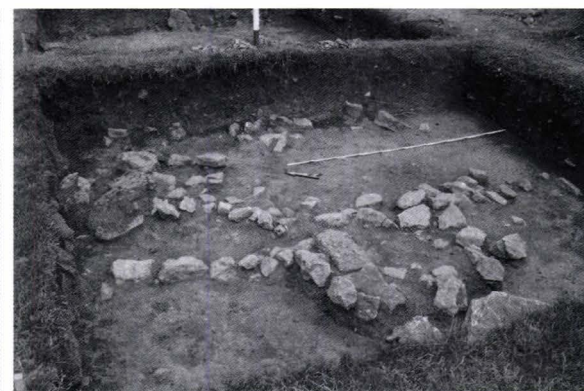
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Fig. 7. Surface S11. Complexes C14, C21, C23, C26, C28 and C42 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).



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Fig. 8. Complex C45, during different phases of the excavations (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

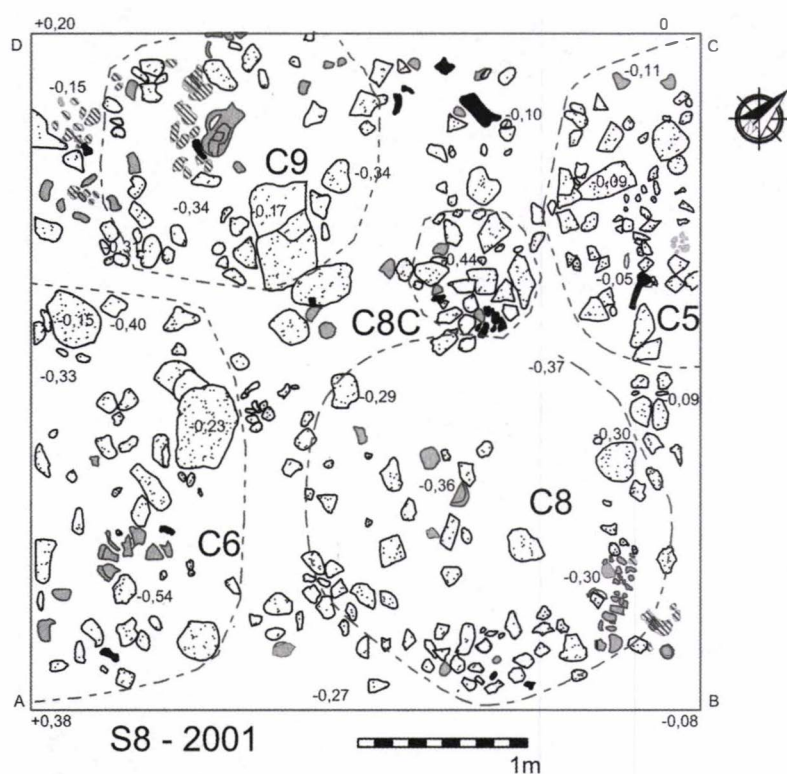


Fig. 9.1

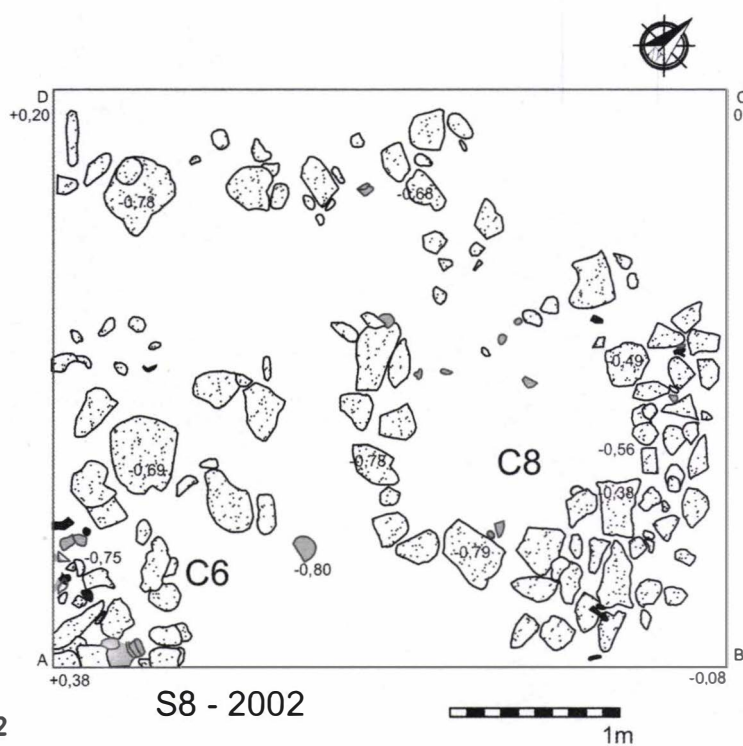


Fig. 9.2

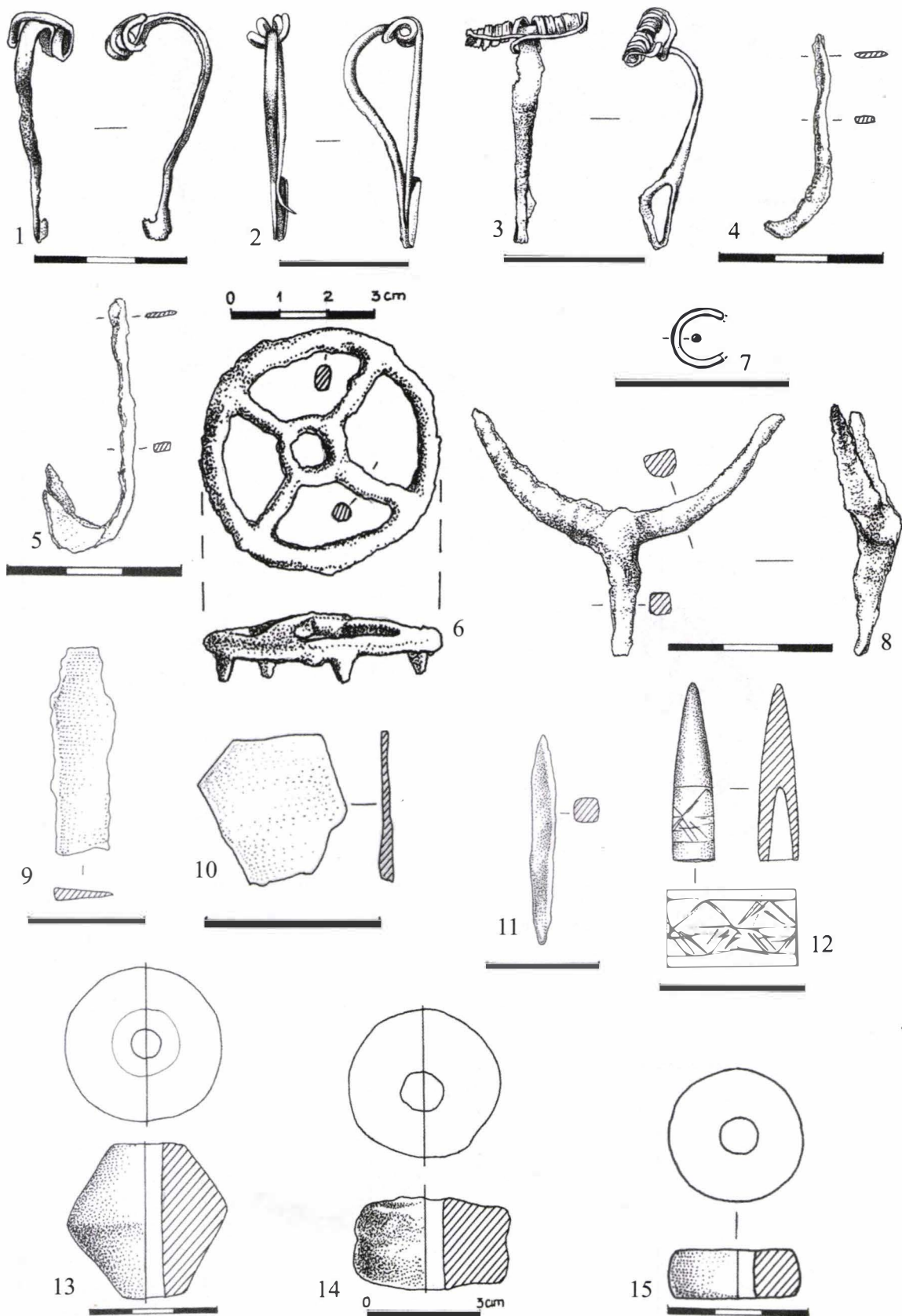


Fig. 10. Items from Complex no. 2 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

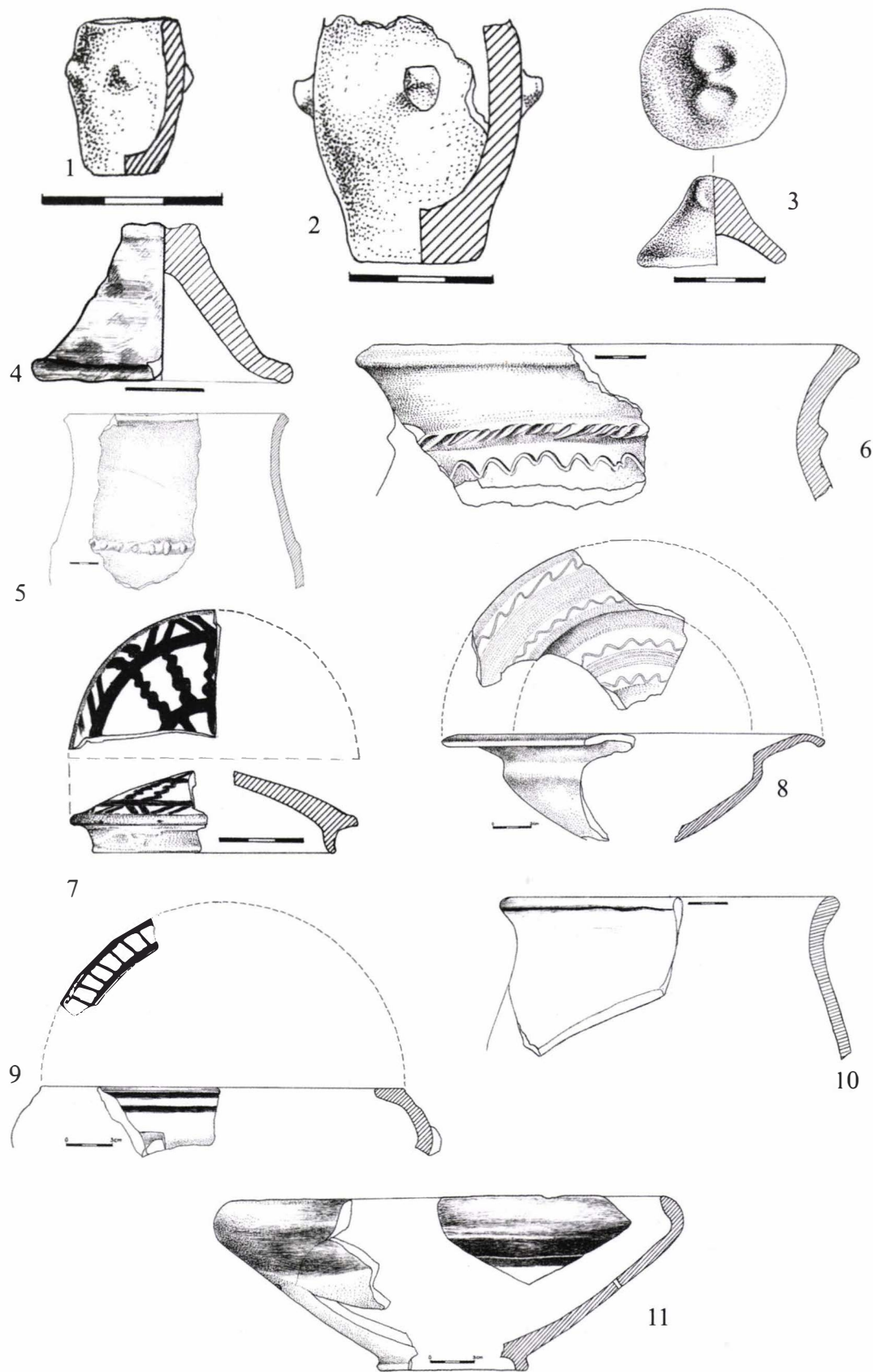


Fig. 11. Items from Complex no. 2 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

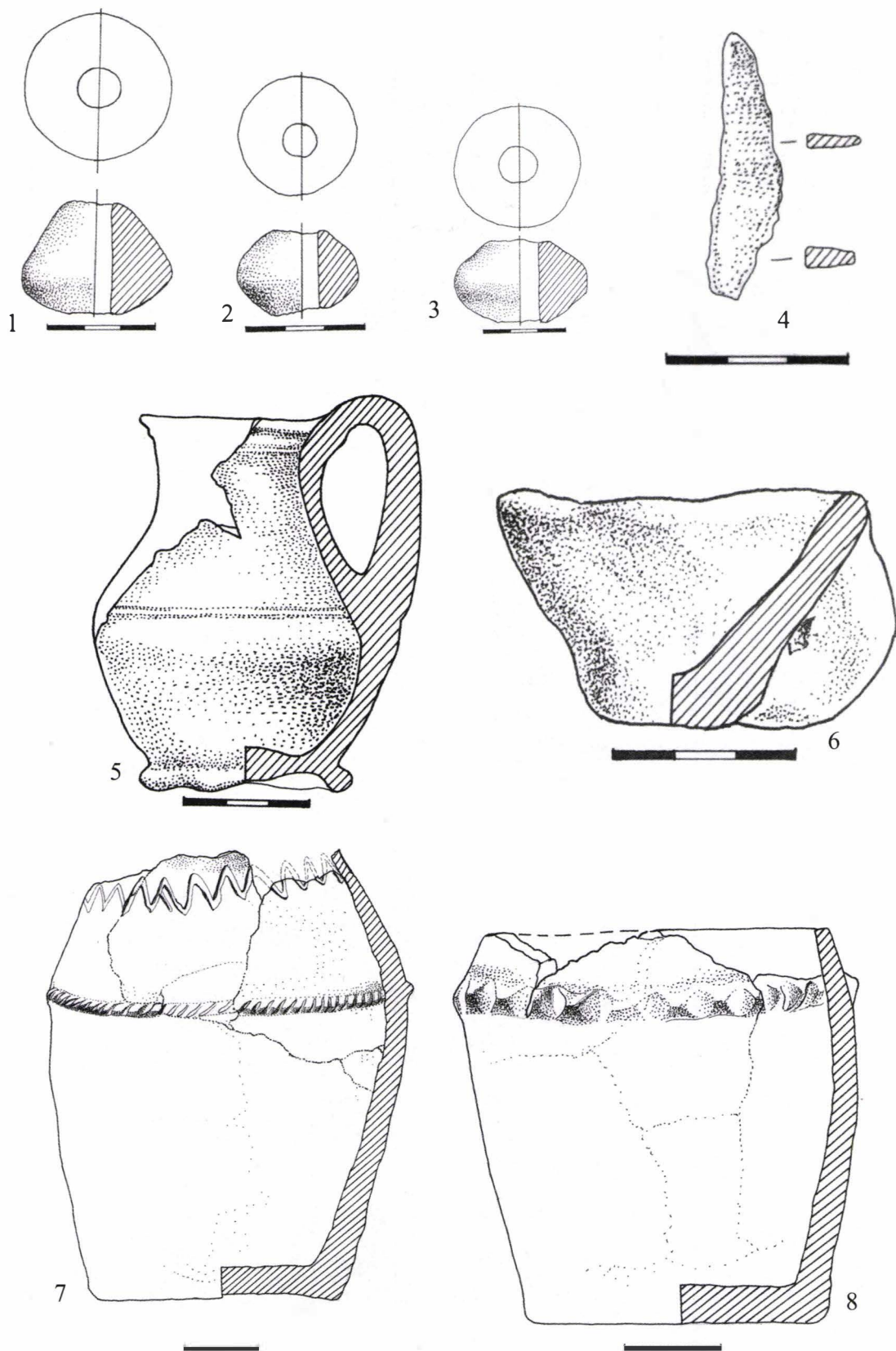


Fig. 12. Items from Complex no. 2A (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).



Fig. 13. Items from Complex no. 18 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

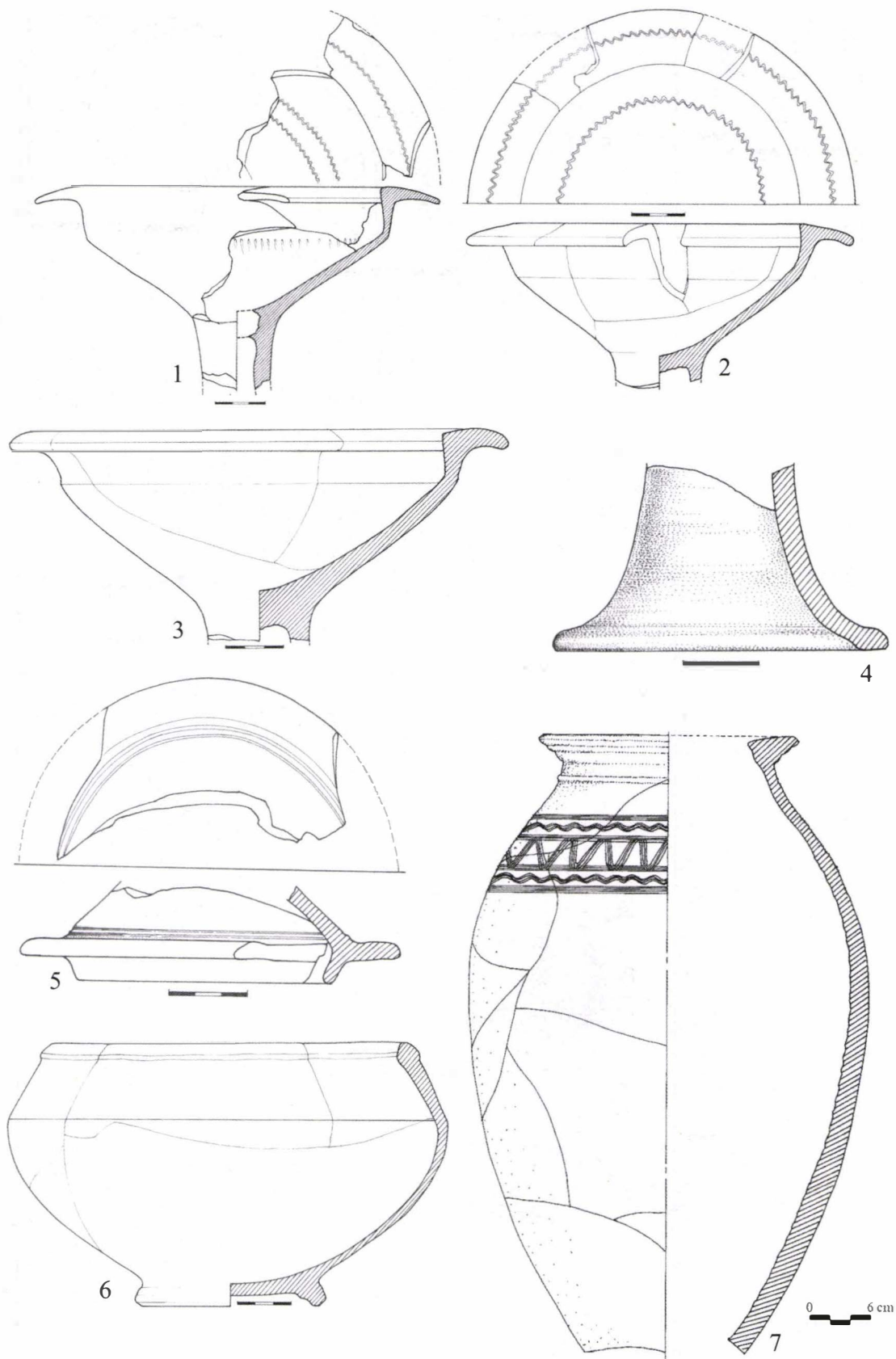


Fig. 14. Items from Complex no. 45 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

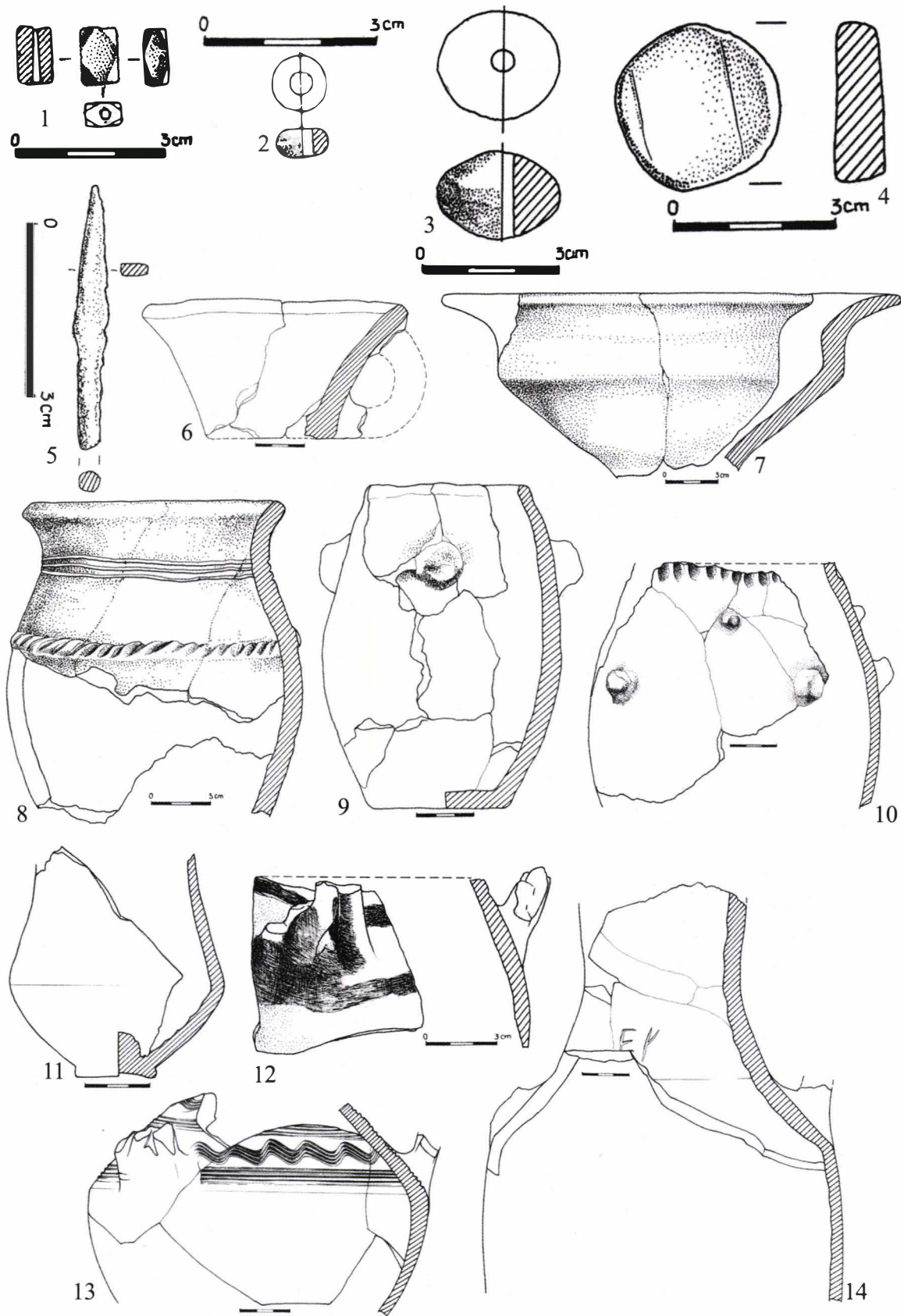


Fig. 15. Items from Complex no. 45 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).

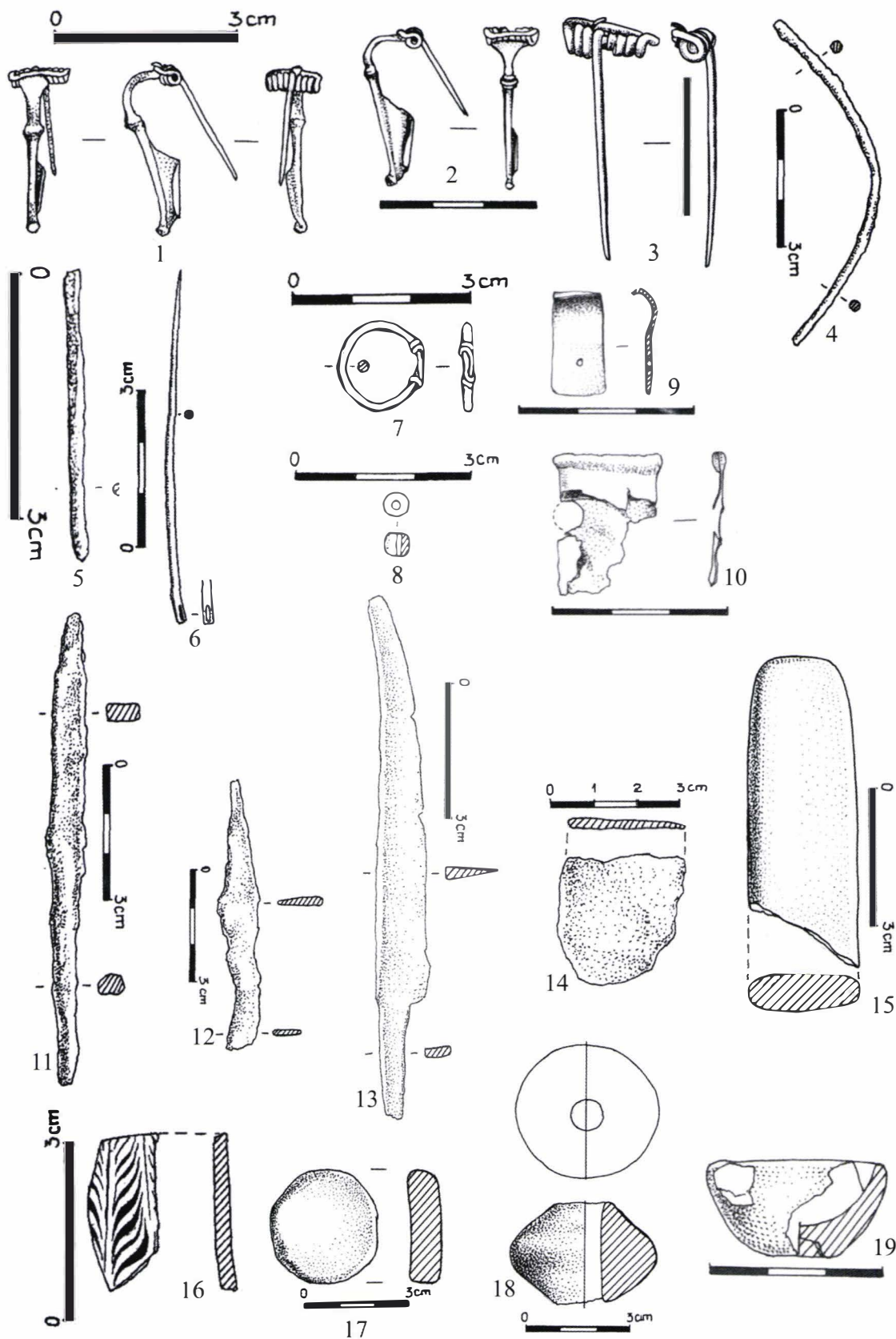


Fig. 16. Items from Complex no. 63 (after V. Sîrbu, S. Matei, V. Dupoi 2005).



1a



1b



1c



2a



2b



2c

Fig. 17. Terasse no. 1. 1a-c Complex no. 201; 2a-c Complex no. 206.

SACRED DACIAN LANDSCAPES (2nd CENTURY BC – 1st CENTURY AD). SEARCHING FOR A THEORETICAL MODEL

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Key words: sacred enclosures, deposits, temples, landscape, Dacian

Abstract: The authors propose and analyze, in a complementary manner, a model of ancient perception of the sacred landscape during classical Dacian period, by classical archaeological means and through spatial analyses. A site is understood as an assemblage between the archaeological remains and their host environment.

The present study explores a possible cultural model of use and organization of the public sacred space in the late Dacian period (2nd century BC – 1st century AD). The basis for these hypotheses will be represented by complex analyses of the relationships established between possibly sacred Dacian sites and their environment. We will aim at the identification and remodeling of human past experiences of perceiving sacred spaces and sacred landscape, as aspects that may enrich the archaeological information obtained through classical methodology.

Since we will investigate only a few particular aspects of sacred sites from the classical Dacian period, we will refer here neither to their analysis and classification nor to the general problems connected to the choice of a sacred place in other cultural areas. For the issue of sacred places selection and classification in other cultures, we name contributions of authors like L. Levy-Bruhl (1935), M. Eliade (1992) or the studies published as result to thematic colloquia (*Gifts to the Gods* 1987). Also for the subject regarding the issue of cult places and Dacian temples we mention H. Daicoviciu (1972, p. 204-220), D. Antonescu (1984), Al. Vulpe (1986, p. 101-111), N. Conovici and G. Trohani (1988, p. 205-217), I. H. Crișan (1993, p. 78-122), S. Sanie (1995) and V. Sîrbu (1993; 1995, p. 314-329; 2006, p. 21-86).

We are putting forward a proposal for an alternative investigation of the past, intended to enrich the classical archaeology perception through the exploration of a new set of questions and answers. We state that the archaeological excavation is not the only method for examining and reconstructing the past as new technologies and methods may add distinct value to the knowledge in this field. In fact, in terms of methodology, we will compare a set of conclusions obtained through archaeological means with interpretations suggested by spatial analyses, underlying the similarities and the differences.

For this study we will consider four of the most important Dacian sites, situated in high locations, in different areas with particular landscape: **Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării**, Buzău County (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu 2004, p. 183-214; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005), **Ocnita**, Vâlcea County (Berciu 1981; Berciu, Iosifaru, Diaconescu 1993, p. 149-156), **Moigrad-Măgura Moigradului**, Sălaj County (Macrea, Russu, Mitrofan 1962, p. 485-502; Matei, Pop 2001, p. 253-277) and **Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului**, Brașov County (Costea 2006, p. 175-208), all of the monuments dated between 150 BC - 106 AD.

We will analyze if and in what way the four sites follow a pattern and establish, at the same time, their distinctiveness as complex landscapes used by humans and as sources for ritual behaviors. The integration of monuments, artifacts and rituals into a greater geographical scale may illustrate a larger context in which the relations between communities become visible.

The Dacian communities generally preferred as cult sites locations with particular features: high impressive hilly or mountain massifs, considerably higher than the surrounding relief, difficult to climb, generating a great visual impact, sometimes located nearby natural strategic resources (salt, iron).

The monument assemblage from Augustin-*Tipia Ormenișului* was regarded as a sacred Dacian center; similar to the political and religious capital of Sarmizegetusa Regia (Glodariu *et al.* 1996, p. 109-130), but the other three mentioned sites (Moigrad-*Măgura Moigradului*, Ocnița and Pietroasa Mică-*Gruia Dării*) were initially considered settlements, fortresses or necropolises. Later investigations or reconsiderations of older excavations illustrated a variety of cultic manifestations, either as cult structures or as inventory, therefore claiming that in these places humans performed depositional activities with certain intentionality (Sirbu 1995, p. 314-329; 2004, p. 183-214; 2006, p. 21-86). The lack of dwelling complexes or other typical annexes for a dwelling may indicate the different functionality of these sites.

The development of our reasoning, presented in this study and the resulted final considerations had as main grounds the following decisions of interpreting the archaeological discoveries from the sites in question.

1. The large edifices with a circular plan or rectangular plan with an apsidal room or rectangular plan with alignments of basis for columns were interpreted as public cult edifices or temples. A similar interpretation for this type of edifices comes from H. Daicoviciu (1972, p. 204-220), D. Antonescu (1984), Al. Vulpe (1986, p. 101-111), N. Conovici and G. Trohani (1988, p. 205-217), I. H. Crișan (1993, p. 78-122), S. Sanic (1995), V. Sirbu (1993; 1995, p. 314-329; 2006₂, p. 21-86) and Fl. Costea (2006).

2. The assemblages of items deposited in closed contexts (pits, mounds, underground chambers) illustrating a positive selection of the inventories, following a certain pattern in inventory selection, aspect and space distribution, usually associated in groups of complexes of the same type, which cannot be considered dwellings, regular graves or isolated hoards, were interpreted by us as intentional deposits for various possible purposes, most likely with votive intentions, in our opinion (Dupoi, Sirbu 2001; Sirbu 2004; Sirbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005; Sirbu 2006₁; Sirbu 2006₂)

3. The archaeological sites, which consisted, mainly, either of groups of intentionally made deposits (pits, mounds, underground chambers) or of assemblages of several cult edifices, were interpreted as sacred places (Sirbu 2006₁; Sirbu 2006₂, p. 48-62).

During particular spatial analyses performed in time over these sites (Sirbu, Ștefan 2004; Ștefan, Duțescu 2005; 2006), certain similarities regarding the environment characteristic to sacred places and relations with the contemporaneous sites located in the surroundings, became understandable for a reasonably large area.

Therefore, we had the premises to start an investigation for the purpose of validating or rejecting the existence of a cultural model regarding the sacred natural space, which might generate a common cultural behavior.

Historical premises

Some written sources suggest the existence of an important Dacian centre at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Ptolemaios III, 8, 4). Archaeologically, this centre was identified with Grădiștea de Munte, in the Orăștici Mountains, where the first sanctuaries can be dated back to

the 1st century BC. The site was considered the capital of the Dacian state, connected with cultic, social, and political elite, which initiated a process of centralization of the Dacian communities (Daicoviciu 1972, p. 138-139, 207-210; Crișan 1993-II, p. 81-97; Glodariu *et al.* 1996, p. 83-140; Sirbu 2006₁, p. 25-27; 2006₂, p. 33-35).

Important changes in various fields of the spiritual life became noticeable starting with the middle of the second century BC, with a relative homogeneous character. They appear in the entire space inhabited by the Dacian communities: the disappearance of regular graves, the building of large temples (apsidal edifices or with alignments of columns), the increased number of deposits of silver coins and other silver items, the intensification of human sacrifices and use of figurative representations on metals or ceramic (Sirbu 1993, p. 127-128; 2006₂, p. 163-165).

One may consider such a large-scale process characterized by the appearance of similar types of temples and official patterns of cultic manifestations in an extended space, as linked to a certain religious authority associated with the political power.

In this context, we notice that several sites belonging to the same period, obviously exemplify a different form of cultic manifestation, different in comparison with the official model represented by the pan Dacian centers from Sarmizegetusa Regia (Glodariu *et al.* 1996, p.109-130) and Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului (Costea 2006, p. 175-208). This reality may raise questions about political and social differences, about conflict and competition inside the Dacian communities, or even about certain regional authority. Among these distinct centers (regional), we will analyze Moigrad-Măgura Moigradului, Ocnița and Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării.

Landscape Archaeology

We consider the environment to be an essential and integrating element which contains (possibly determines) the material aspects of human activities and beliefs which is why it is mandatory that one take it into consideration in a complete definition of a site (regardless of its type). Usually defined as *landscape* (Silva, Pizziolo, 2005; Lock 2003, p. 164, Bender 1993) this kind of space, associates to natural elements a cognitive value resulted from perceptions and identity structures, always various and dynamic, generating a multitude of circumstances. Therefore, through permanent transformation of nature by humans into landscape and its valorization in a cultural way, the space becomes the object of study not only for geographers but also for archaeologists and anthropologists.

The relatively recent phenomenon of giving a spatial dimension to the archaeological thought, combined with primary classical investigation methods used in archaeology may offer alternative solutions to common questions such as: *Which were the reasons that led a certain community to choose a distinct place when raising a settlement, fortress or sacred place? Which was the visually observed area from a certain point in the land? In what way are these aspects significant in the definition of relations, which govern communities or groups of communities? In what way particular communities integrate the landscape in the assembly of a sacred place? May one state a model of choosing, use and organizing the environment in relation to the character of the structures and archaeological contexts identified inside?*

Using the already traditional instruments and methods of landscape archaeology, we will try to explore the cultural dimension of the environment and propose land use models regarding specific elements. A proper refining of the conclusions will be possible only through the integration and evaluation of the archaeological analyses, offering a larger comparative perspective. The main critique made against the spatial analytical tools is in regard to the difficulty experienced in working with non-quantitative data and the failure of representing individual perspectives thorough simple maps (Peterson 1998; Tilley 1994). We acknowledge

the diachronic state of the process of regaining the spatial perception. We recognize that the data used for interrogations is selected and defined by researchers and may be subjective.

Spatial analyses and methods¹

The relief models, in which one analyzes possible access routes between different points located in the land, make use of a particular type of analysis called *Slope Analysis* (**Fig.4.1.; 5.2.; 8.4.; 14.3**). The relief areas with a mild slope are represented with light color and the steep slopes with a dark color. The important access roads follow, in the idea of effort diminution, routes with soft relief transitions. This way, routes that are longer, but less bumpy, might be preferred, allowing the circulation, for example, of chariots with merchandise and supplies.

The *Visual Analysis* (**Fig.4.2.; 14.1.**) is one of the spatial investigations, which most implies the idea of a personal perception of space (Gaffney, Stancic 1991; Madry, Rakos 1996; van Leusen 2004) Elevation calculus takes away from the visually observed area the regions obstructed by higher relief located in sight. The result is a map, which represents the surrounding territory of a site visually observable and easy to control. Why is this fact valuable? The visible spatial elements, natural or human made, furnish a human universe with significance and internal logic, possible interconnected. On one side, we investigate the visual impact of the sites in the surrounding territory and on the other side, the areas located in its direct controlled perimeter.

In the dynamic relation established between man and environment, altitude changes, the presence of natural obstacles, watercourses, permanently condition the human communities to adjust. Even the circulation between two points located inside a real geographical space, will be influenced by this. That is why the quantification of the effort consumed for a movement in space becomes important in order to reconstruct ancient circulation routes and to establish which of the natural resources located closer or more far away could be actually used and in what way people in the past could exchange gifts and merchandise (Kvamme 1999; Gaffney, Stancic, Watson 1995; Madry, Rakos 1996; Bintliff 1984). *Least Cost Surface Analysis* proposed us, according to effort and time consumed when crossing the relief, different spatial matrixes around the site as territories with possible different usage for the community traveling from or to the site.

Augustin-Tipia Ormenișului, Brașov County. This site is remarkable, located on top of a quite inaccessible mountain, enjoying a dominant position in the river Olt Pass (**Fig.2.1.**), elevated with more than 200m above the surrounding lands (absolute elevation 755.9m); the surrounding area was intensely inhabited, as the site was included in an assemblage of civil settlements and fortresses (**Fig.4**).

Tipia Ormenișului is a massif composed of volcanic and sedimentary rocks with steep slopes, sometimes almost vertical; the access was possible only on the Southern side. It consists from an upper plateau, with an oval elongated shape, and a total surface of 3500m² and six main terraces (**Fig.3.1.**) all located on the Southern side (Glodariu, Costea 1991, p. 21-40; Costea 2002, p. 26-41; Costea 2006).

On the terraces, it was only until the middle of the first century BC that the site functioned as a settlement with numerous dwellings (Costea 2006, p.169-172). At some point, after the middle of the 1st century BC, large-scale activities of reorganizing the space took place here: a leveling with rock pavement of the previous structures, the erection on the plateau of a surrounding stonewall on the Eastern, Southern and Western side (the Northern slope is a

¹ For a more detailed presentation of spatial archaeology methods used and adapted by us and presentation of associated objectives, as well as a more complete bibliography see Ștefan, Duțescu 2005; 2006

vertical abyss), the construction of several terraces strengthened with supporting walls, the disappearance of dwellings, the erection of several large cult edifices, sometimes (in the Northwestern part of the plateau) multiply overlapped (a succession of three edifices) .

The cult edifices erected on *Tipia Ormenișului* were dated after the stratigraphic sequence and types of ceramic as beginning in the second half of the second century BC until the Roman conquest (Costea 2006, p.296).

Because the cult edifices from *Tipia Ormenișului* were recently published (Costea 2006) and a series of data are also present in this volume, in a study signed by Fl. Costea, A. Bălos, L. Savu, we will not detail them, but only mention several essential aspects, as necessary in our investigation.

On the Eastern side of the plateau, the archaeologists discovered a large rectangular building surrounded by an apsidal structure and a tower and, on the Central-Western side, occupying two thirds of the plateau, several cult edifices, circular and rectangular, with alignments of columns (**Fig.3.1.**).

Eight cult edifices (**Fig.2.2.; 3.1.**) were discovered on *Tipia Ormenișului*, four of which were rectangular with columns alignments, two were made out of limestone and two of volcanic rock, three were circular (two of which had a complex plan). Seven of these temples were discovered inside the plateau walls, *intra muros*, and one of them on the third terrace. One may notice in the Northwestern side of the plateau the succession of three cult edifices.

We mention a rectangular building with alignments of foundations for columns made out of limestone, orientated North-South and another one with alignments of foundations for columns made out of volcanic rock, orientated Northwest-Southeast, both located on the plateau and having two phases of construction and utilization. The inventory found inside consists of few fragments of ceramic vessels and few iron items.

On the third terrace there was a structure made (**Fig.3.1.**) out of: a) an exterior circular ring (diameter 19.20-19.30m, constructed from limestone and volcanic rock slabs, poorly polished; b) an intermediary ring (diameter 16.50-16.60m) located approximately 1m towards the interior, polygon-shaped, with 36 sides of approximately 3.50m each, made out of white polished limestone blocks; powerful traces of burnt wood and coal found nearby suggest the former existence of a wooden elevation; c) a rectangular structure with the apse orientated NNW, located in the middle of the rings, but not quite in the centre, with two rooms and two entrances. A burnt wooden beam was discovered lying near the intermediate wall. Eighteen large iron nails shaped like a swan head were stuck in it; they served perhaps for hanging the offerings. The post halls, the compact areas with burnt clay walls, the burnt wood beams attest the existence of a building with wood and clay walls. The inventory consisted in fragments of ceramic vessels, which could not be put together, among which we name the large vessels without a bottom, then the nails, a door articulation and a broche.

All of the rectangular buildings and all the terraces are orientated NNW-SSE (**Fig.3.1.**), which could indicate a large-scale plan for reshaping the mountain, according to particular behavioral patterns. Monumental stone stairs and paved platforms completed the site's impressive architecture.

In the case of this site, we observed how the same space received completely different significations, in relation with the identity of the group that used it and related to it. This space is successively associated with practical features, and then included in the sacred sphere. Its features, valued initially for living, were later reshaped for religious purposes.

The relief formation on top of which the monument assembly was found is dominant in the surrounding landscape, a real visual marker for the communities living in the area of the Olt

valley. This perception induces powerful feelings. The access is special constructed, following the relief. There are no water sources inside the walls.

The location offers large visibility and control over the Olt valley (**Fig.4.2.**), towards Racoș, the Valley of Raci and the Baraolt valley. The site was integrated in a network of contemporaneous sites and communication routes, all visually interconnected (**Fig.4**). The relief is strongly human shaped – terraces sustained by supporting walls, access stairs. We note the idea of delimitation, spatial partitioning as the massif is delimited naturally by waters, and the plateau is surrounded on three sides by a wall.

Observers located on the plateau could see the Depression of Baraolt, the Olt valley, the valley of Raci, the ridge route towards the *Black Hill*, the *Cornu Hill* and *Tipia Racoșului*. The only slope of the massif an observer on the plateau could not visually control, namely the Western slope, may be nevertheless completely visually controlled from the fortress of *Piatra Detunată*. The visibility area of the *Piatra Detunată* fortress concentrates along the defile (**Fig.4.1.**). It also controls a part of the height route towards the *Black Hill*. We underline the shared visibility between the main sites in the region *Tipia Ormenișului*, *Piatra Detunată*, *Cornu Hill*.

In these analyses, we did not regard the potential obstacles represented by past forest vegetation; in addition, the height calculated for the virtual observers did not consider their possible location on top of high buildings or walls elevated above the ground level.

The slope analyses performed for the site of *Tipia Ormenișului* and for the relief on the left side of the river Olt, suggest that the most probable routes for accessing the site used the ridges from the direction of the *Black Hill* and Augustin Valley (**Fig.4.1.**). These suggestions are backed by the results of the visibility analysis, in which these particular heights are observable for someone inside the site. We may speculate on the existence of another fortress visible from *Tipia Ormenișului*, located somewhere towards the Augustin Valley, meant to supervise the second part of these ridge routes which descent into the larger Olt Valley.

If we regard the large number of cult structures (**Fig.2.1., 3.1.**), the typological variety and the monumentality of the edifices, we may consider *Tipia Ormenișului* one of the Sacred Mountain of the Dacians (Șirbu 2006₁, p. 33-80; 2006₂, p. 27-29).

Moigrad-Măgura Moigradului (Sălaj County). The enclosure is located on top of a plateau, oval in shape, with a seven hectares surface and elevated more than 200 meters above the surrounding valleys. The imposing massive is probably the result of a volcanic activity (**Fig.5.1.**).

The excavations represent less than six percent of the total surface (3700 m²) (**Fig.7.2**). Nevertheless, the interpretations of the archaeological remains dating back to the 2nd century BC – 1st century AD is still a matter of scientific debate (Macrea, Rusu, Mitrofan 1962, p. 485-502; Matei, Pop 2001, p. 253-277; Șirbu 1994, p. 39-59).

In the beginning, the archaeological features discovered here were described as incineration graves in cylindrical pits, but anthropological analyses showed that this was not a statement that could be backed up.

Lately, the discovery of a few dwellings and fortification structures was used for supporting the idea that the site functioned initially, in the 1st century, BC as a sacred enclosure and then, in the 1st century AD, as a fortification.

In our opinion, the topographic situation and the assembly of discoveries indicate that a sacred enclosure functioned at Moigrad, given the plateau with steep slopes (**Fig. 7.1**) and the fact that the lack of water sources did not secure proper living conditions.

The 200 pits (**Fig.9.1; 9.3.**) discovered until now may support our statement – they show obvious ritual features (deposits of items - **Fig.9.2**, traces of fire, animal bones, and rarely human bones). In addition, we should consider the discovery of many isolated fireplaces (almost 30) and agglomerations of materials deposited on soil. Sometimes all the three types of complexes were overlapped. The several dwellings are rather small and located on the edge of the plateau. They date back to the 1st century AD. This fact cannot change the sacred character of the site as the cult practitioners must have lived somewhere.

The fortification is rather small and could be a delimitation of the plateau as this type of structure (ditch with *vallum*) (**Fig. 8.2.; 8.3.**) was not in use at that date – 1st century AD in the Dacian fortresses – surrounded with stonewalls and with smaller surfaces (Glodariu 1983, p. 75-121).

The topographical representation of the site illustrates its dominant position in the region (**Fig.8.1; 8.4.**), the hard access on top and the steepness of its slopes. The site induces an overwhelming visual impact, given it stands 200m above the surroundings valleys and is isolated from the surroundings. The upper plateau is orientated NNE-SSW (**Fig.7.2.**) and is, in fact, not flat, which could indicate ancient terracing works. The visual analysis calculated for a 15 kilometers range indicates a rather regional statute for the site, as the main circulation route in the area is not visible from Moigrad, but another one is, a secondary circuit that links it with the main one.

Ocnița (Ocnele Mari - Vâlcea County). The prosperity of the local communities (rich inventory, roman imports) was based on very rich salt resources located all along the area (Berciu 1981).

Two fortresses built on a hill shaped as half a circle (**Fig.6.1; 6.2.; 10**), were probably meant to protect these very important salt resources and control the local trade. The same massif is also the location for an area with votive deposits and a large settlement at the bottom. All the sites are from the period between the 2nd century BC - the end of the 1st century AD.

The site included a superior plateau (**Fig.11**) and seven terraces, arranged as stairs, and oriented West North-West-East-South-East (**Fig.10.1.**). Underground chambers and perhaps hundreds of pits were discovered here. To these we may add seven little dwellings. The acropolis and the first three terraces were fortified, but the general fortification system is now rather difficult to decipher as there is no plan of the excavations and the earth collapsed in those areas.

Located on the superior plateau, inside a rectangular area 17x15m, delimited with a ditch, there were three underground chambers (**Fig.11**) (all containing a very special inventory resulted from intentionally made ritual activities) and traces of edifices destroyed by powerful fires suggesting a previous existence of temples.

Underground chamber number two is oval in shape (depth=2.40m, diameter=4.00x3.40m). It was dug into the stone there. It contained an extremely rich inventory: dozens of whole ceramic vessels, among which we may mention the painted vessels and the rush light cups, and dozens of fragments of pottery, seven anthropomorphic clay figurines, a roman sword (*gladius*) with scabbard, an arrowhead, a spearhead, a curved dagger (*sica*), knives, different other iron items, five bronze fibulae, two roman denari from Augustus, fragments from vessels with Greek inscriptions mentioning a pottery workshop belonging to a local *basileus*.

From underground chamber number three, among numerous vessels and metal items, we would like to draw attention to the presence of a bronze human mask, carefully laid down near the wall.

On the fifth terrace (**Fig.12.2; 12.3**), the archaeologists found, disposed on the both sides of an alley, 126 pits, which contained various inventory items, large pieces of burnt clay walls, animal bones, ceramic vessels and fragments of ceramic vessels. In pit 105 (**Fig.12.1.**), dated to 1st century BC, one found, among other materials, 25 entire ceramic vessels, a whetstone, an iron fibula, an iron shield *umbo*, half of a dagger scabbard made out of iron and an iron plate (Berciu, Iosifaru, Diaconescu 1993, p. 149-156). The ceramic vessels were carefully laid down in particular positions; the set included 12 rush light cups, 12 jars and a porringer, all hand made. If we think about the deposit as being carefully arranged and about the positioning of the pit in a field of pits, we can state that this was a ritual deposit.

In Ocnița, one found relatively numerous figurative representations, including the aforementioned bronze mask, two medallions and a semicircular item, all made out of bronze, and clay anthropomorphic figurines; one aspect worth noticing is the significant number and variety of ceramic vessels, weapons, tools, coins and adornments deposited as offerings (Berciu 1981).

Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării (Buzău County). The site from Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării is located in the micro region of the Istrița Hill – part of the hilly massifs that borders the Curvature Carpathians in the South, ensuring the transition towards the lower levels of the Buzău Valley. Therefore, a distinct feature of this region remains the abrupt and clear elevation difference (30-60m) between the last sub-Carpathian hills and the plain below. This provides the sites located in this region with very good strategic locations in relation with the plain. The Istrița massif is delimited by the Valley of Nișcov to the North, the Valley of Sărata to the East and the Valley of Buzău to the South. The total surface is approximately 200km² and maximum elevation 749m. There are salt resources nearby.

The site from *Gruia Dării* is part of an impressive landscape (**Fig.5.2.**), with a powerful impact on the observer. The site stands on top of a rocky plateau, elevated at 534m above the plain, surrounded by higher hills, like in an amphitheatre. The site enjoys a spectacular view towards the plain below (**Fig.14.1.**). This visibility is obviously a shared perception, as the site is observable from the plane, as a genuine landscape marker.

All the performed spatial analyses emphasized the importance of this relation between the site and the plain. The shortest road used to access the site was coming from the plain on the Valley of Dara (**Fig.14.2**). The most accessible territories around the site, which implied minimal effort in passing through the relief, were the southern terraces, which descended into the plain and the fields located at the foothill of the site (as the CSA illustrates). The site is at the confluence of three main passing corridors (**Fig.14.3**), located mainly on peaks and ridges, which interconnect the large valleys that surround the Istrița massif, also important communication routes in the region.

The plateau was enclosed with a stone wall (**Fig. 13.1.; 15.1.**). Parts of walls are nowadays visible only in the Western and Northern parts of the enclosure, from which only a surface of 2500m² still stands today, as the Eastern and Southern edges were destroyed by a modern limestone quarry (**Fig.13.1**). The surrounding wall, 2.00-2.20m wide, consists of two faces of polished limestone tiles (*parament*) and of *emplecton* (Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001; Sîrbu 2004₃, p. 183-213; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005). Considering the preserved remains, mainly the foundation, this wall did not seem to possess the necessary features of a fortification, its function being, perhaps, that of delimiting the sacred space and of impressing the participants to the ceremonies.

In the almost 1200 m² excavated until now in different areas of the enclosure, only three types of complexes were registered (**Fig.13.2.**) for the period between 1st century BC –

1st century AD: a) mound-like deposits (**Fig.15.2; 15.3.**), the majority with a stone ring at the bottom and fireplaces discovered *in situ* or deposited in secondary positions; b) isolated fireplaces and c) pits. Between 2001-2007 alone, in over 300 excavated square meters inside the enclosure and on the First Terrace, the archaeologists found 111 complexes: 70 mound-like deposits, 14 isolated fireplaces and 15 pits. To these, one may add 12 complexes with unknown functionality. The excavations carried out on the *First Terrace* (2006-2007) demonstrated that these types of votive deposits existed not only inside the enclosure, but also outside the walls; one must also verify the archaeological situation on the other existing terraces that border the upper plateau to the South and West, descending as stairs towards the plain.

Among the discovered complexes, neither *in situ* dwellings, neither workshops nor house annexes were found. The majority of complexes are represented by mound-like deposits with stone rings at the bottom (**Fig.15.2.**), oval or circular in shape, sometimes with fireplaces *in situ* found inside, or just secondary deposited, containing burnt pieces of clay walls, animal bones and other items composing rich inventories. The rings had various diameters (0.40-1.80m) and a preserved height of 0.20-0.50m.

Along the 1st century BC-1st century AD period, three or four archaeological layers with this type of assemblages were excavated. Some deposits, as for example C16 and C19 had the aspect of altars, as they were massive stone constructions considerably elevated above the soil; the burnt fireplaces on top of them could have been connected with some rituals.

The discovered inventory includes a large variety of items; some deposited entire, other were just fragments (**Fig.16**): ceramic vessels (almost the entire set of Dacian recipients), tools and utensils, weapons and harness items, adornments and dress accessories, coins, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. We must notice the extremely rare presence of agrarian tools or of tools for wood and stone works, the impressive number of knives, items connected with weaving (spindle whorls and clay weights), adornments and dress accessories. Entire or fragmentary Hellenistic-Roman type grinders were found inside the deposits or as components of the stone rings.

The absence of dwellings may indicate that this site was not a fortified settlement. The distribution of the discoveries, which occupied the entire surface, did not offer in fact, any free space for other types of complexes. Of course, the discovery of some dwellings remains a probability as the practitioners and guardians of the enclosures must have lived somewhere. The existence of cult edifices also remains a possibility.

The analysis of the elements found inside the mound like deposits suggested the fact that they contained burnt parts of dwellings and their inventory, preceded by a certain selection, as some categories of items were totally absent and others appeared frequently.

We must also underline the important role played by the fire in the ritual activities undertaken here, fact suggested by the discovery of numerous fireplaces.

The deposits with rich and various inventories, usually composed from already used artifacts, often, valuable items (**Fig.16**), express the strong cultic motivation that pressured the people to give them away. Nevertheless, we should assert that here, one found neither hoards of silver items and coins nor hoards of other items. Only the entire assembly of items deposited in this site may be regarded as a "hoard". We consider the site as a sacred enclosure (*temenos*).

Final considerations

As various history of religion studies demonstrated, the choice of a sacred place regarded certain objective considerations and others, more subjective. Conclusively, Mircea Eliade, one of the most known researchers in the field, stated: *Any sacred space implies a hierophany, an explosion of sacrum which leads to the isolation of a territory from the cosmic environment,*

making it qualitative different (1992, p. 26). Sometimes animals reveal the sacred nature of a place or this sacred nature imposes itself as result of other mysterious signs.

Unfortunately, there are no written sources or iconographical representations of the Dacian mentality to clear out the reasons for which they chose certain spaces as sacred sites. That is why we are obliged to identify and analyze the field raw data.

Apart from the pan-Dacian center from Racoș - expression of the official religion, we analyzed three regional, contemporaneous sites, belonging to the same spiritual culture, obviously distinct in comparison with the official model. As for *Tipia Ormenișului* we may suppose the adoration of deities in large stone and wood temples and the functioning of large public ceremonies (**Fig.2.2.; 3.1.**), in the case of *Ocnița-Colina Sacră*, *Moigrad-Măgura Moigradului* (**Fig.8; 9**) and *Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării* (**Fig. 15; 16**) we do not have such impressive structures, but deposits of items, in underground chambers, pits or piles, associated with fireplaces. Of course, the presence of edifices remains as well probable for the regional centers, but these sites did not have the monumentality of the official centers.

Nevertheless, the large-scale phenomenon of votive deposits from these spaces and the richness of their inventory sustain that they were public sacred places, probably with a regional character, opened for communities living in a larger area. We tried to observe if the obvious differences between cultic behaviors was maintained in the case of structuring and integrating the sacred landscape.

We can truly speak about a sacred Dacian landscape, as the relief was not selected just for similar features. In other words, it felt in the same way, but also modeled, arranged and structured by humans.

All the sites were situated on top of high plateaus (**Fig. 2; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9**), considerably elevated above the surrounding relief, generating a strong visual impact, inaccessible and unsuitable for an everyday living. The relief was large-scale modified through terracing and leveling activities.

These cult areas were not isolated, but integrated in an assemblage of contemporaneous sites. The sacred areas were delimited by steep slopes or waters and by ditches and walls. The votive deposits and the cult structures were in many cases overlapped in multiple levels.

These similarities may indicate the existence of communities with similar cultural features. It will remain a task of the future studies to argue if, in the context of a supposed connection between the central religious authority and the political authority, these differences can be explained as a multitude of political structures (idea that refines the generally accepted theory of a Dacian centralism in the 1st century BC – 1st century AD).

There is no doubt that we can also accept another interpretation for the sacred centers from *Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării*, *Moigrad-Măgura Moigradului* and *Ocnița-Colina Sacră*. Namely, they could be regional cult centers, which did not compete with the official cult but, instead, represented complementary beliefs and practices, having old traditions rooted in the mentality of the Dacian communities.

The archaeological discoveries point to an ever-increasing diversity of cult sites and figurative representations in the area inhabited by Geta-Dacians, which suggests that notable differences, in terms of both religion and collective imagery, were present (Sirbu 2006, p. 21-86; 99-102). Based on the monumental character of such cult centers (ex., *Ocnița*, *Pietroasa Mică-Gruia Dării*), it is obvious that they are the expression of a regional political and religious elite, which had at its disposal significant economic and human resources for establishing such cult sites. This could indicate the intention of the regional political structures to stand out in terms of religion as well.

Perhaps the time has come to stop talking of just “a Geto-Dacian religion” and start accepting the existence of an increasingly visible religious diversity. It remains to be seen what was the relationship between the religious cult centers with certain types of temples, as an expression of an “official” religion, one considered “pan-Dacian” (Sîrbu 2006¹, p. 71-86; 2006², p. 59-62), and these regional cult centers, as a spiritual manifestation of local structures.

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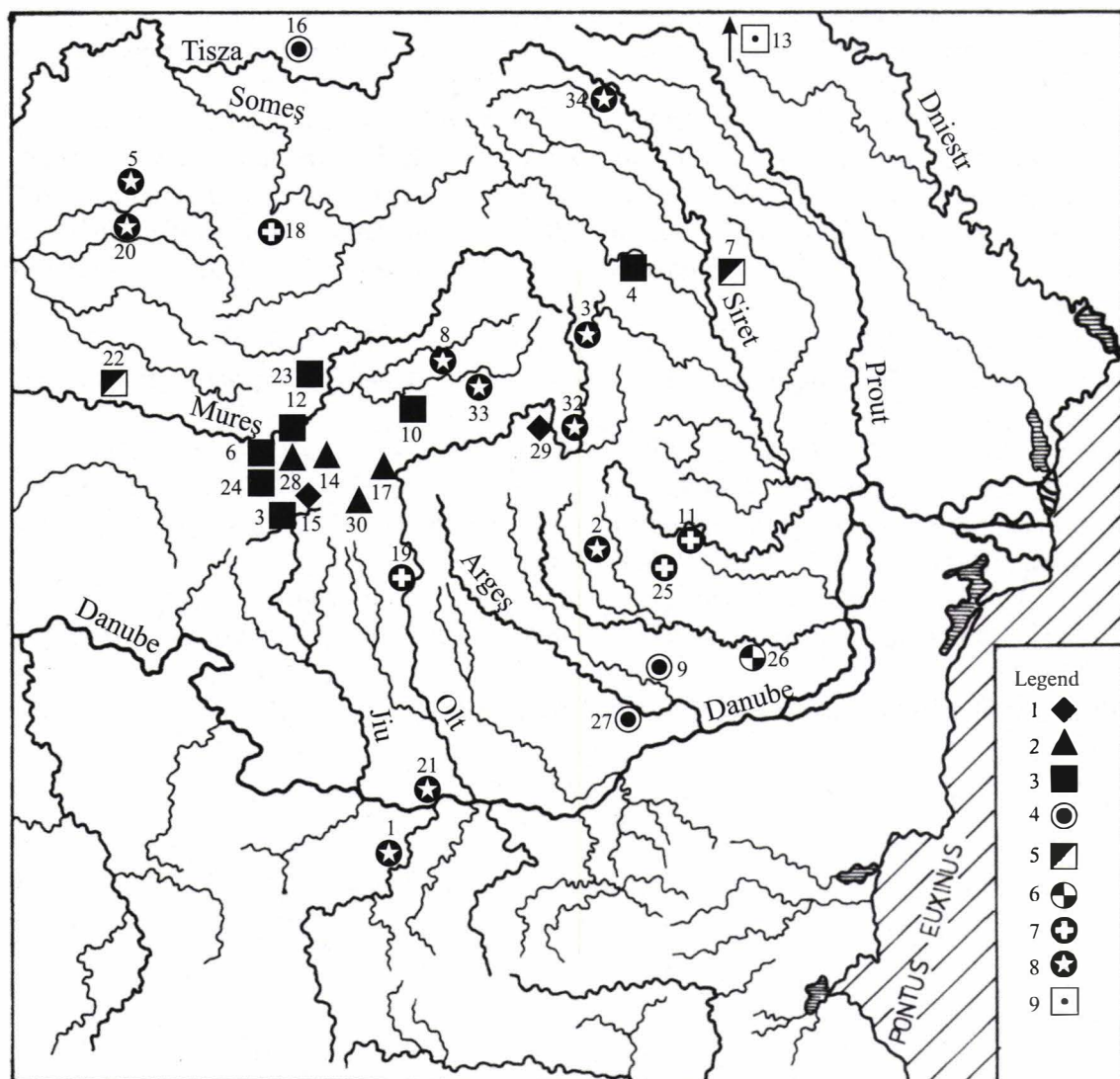


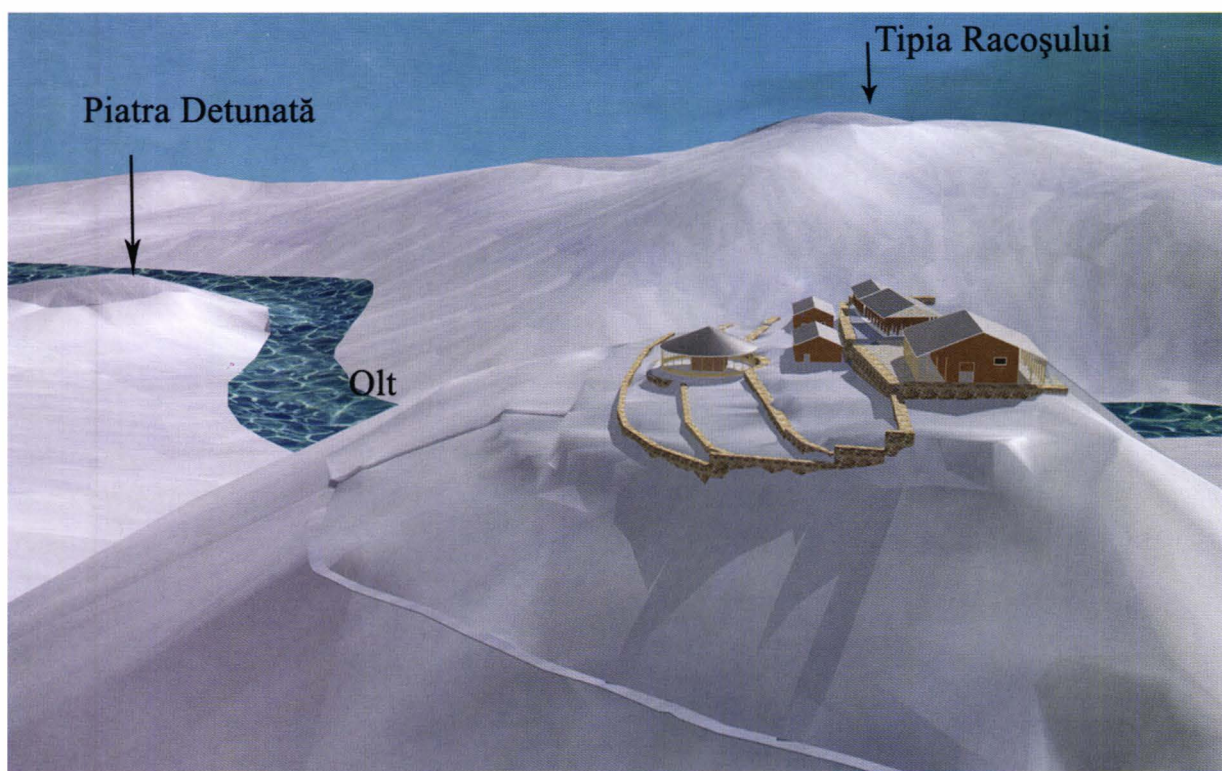
Fig. 1. Temples and sacred enclosures at the Geto-Dacians (± 100 BC-106 AD)

Legend: 1. Rectangular temples with columns and circular temples with apse buildings, 2. circular temples, simple or with apse buildings, 3. rectangular temples with columns alignment in/or near the fortresses, 4. apse temples in settlements, 5. apse temples and simple circular temples in settlements, 6. rectangular temples in settlements, 7. regional religious centers with/without temples and rich offerings, 8. "pit fields", 9. isolated circular temples.

Localities list: 1 Bagačina, 2 Bănești, 3 Bănița, 4 Bâta Doamnei, 5 Biharea, 6 Blidaru, 7 Brad, 8 Bratei, 9 București-Tei, 10 Căpâlna, 11 Cărlomănești, 12 Costești, 13 Dolinean, 14 Fețele Albe, 15 Sarmizegetusa Regia, 16 Malaja Kopanja, 17 Meleia, 18 Moigrad, 19 Ocnița, 20 Oradea-Salca, 21 Orlea, 22 Pecica, 23 Piatra Craivii, 24 Piatra Roșie, 25 Pietroasa Mică, 26 Piscu Crăsani, 27 Popești, 28 Pustâiosu, 29 Augustin, 30 Rudele, 31 Sântimbru-Miercurea Ciuc, 32 Sf. Gheorghe-Bedehaza, 33 Sighișoara-Wietenberg, 34 Zvoriștea.

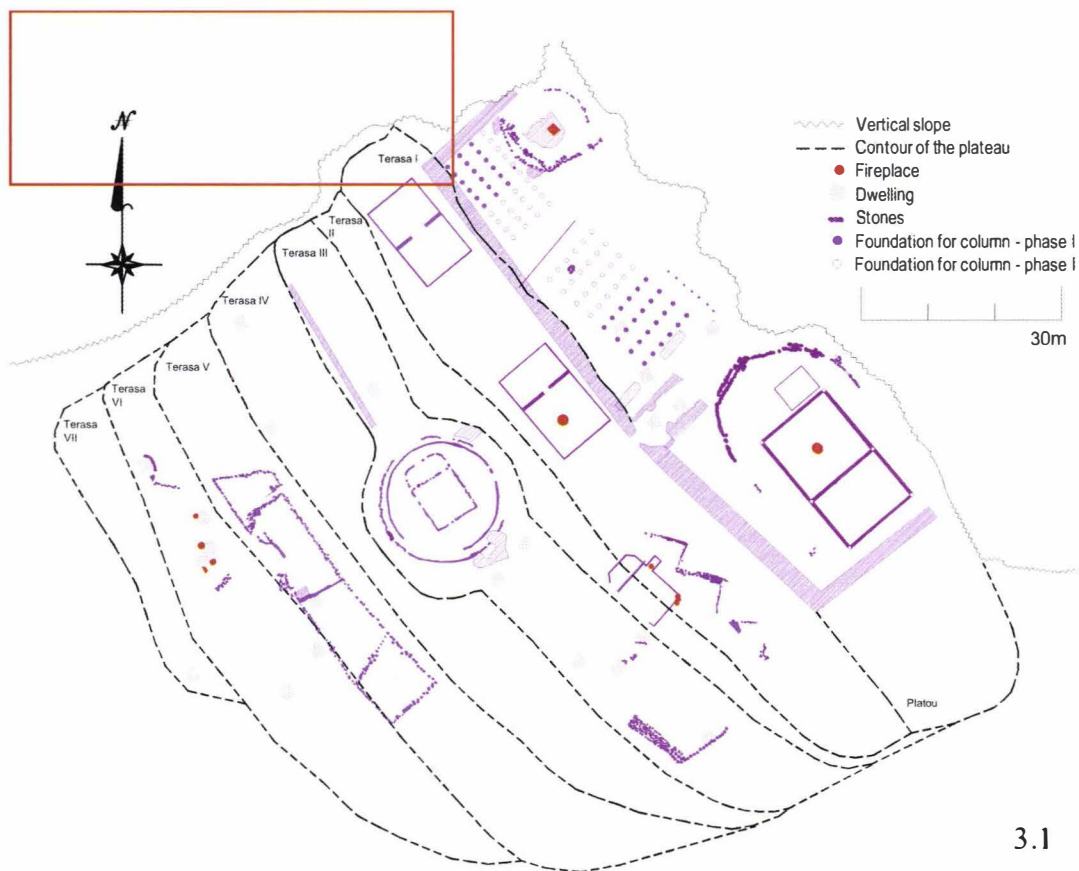


2.1.



2.2.

Fig. 2. Racoș - *Tipia Ormenișului*. 1. General view from North; 2. Virtual reconstruction of the plateau - view from East.

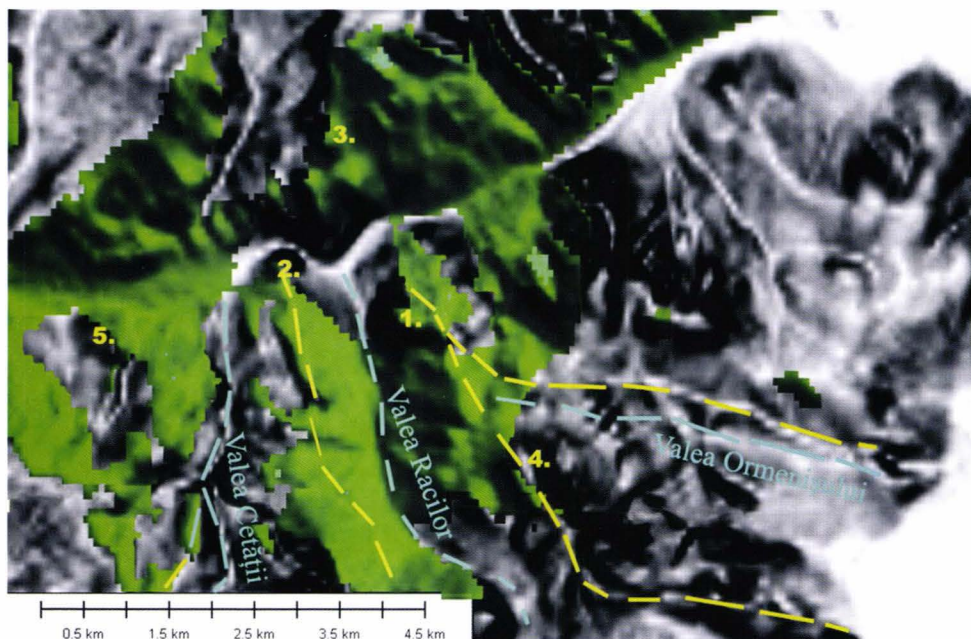


3.1



3.2

Fig. 3. Racos - *Tipia Ormenișului*. 1. General plan; 2. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the edifices located on the plateau (cazarma in the background and the edifice with alignments of basis for columns made out of limestone) after the architectural proposals of Antonescu 1984, p.58-66, fig. 39-40.



4.1.

--- Possible ridge route
 --- Possible valley route

Visually controlled area from the plateau of Tipia Ormenișului



4.2.

Visibility area of 15 km calculated for the plateau of Tipia Ormenișului

Visibility area of 15 km calculated for the site Piatra Detunata

Fig. 4. Racos - *Tipia Ormenișului*. 1. Slope Analysis; 2. Viewshed Analysis: 1. Tipia Ormenișului 2. Piatra Detunată; 3. Tipia Racosului; 4. Dealul Negru; 5. Dealul Cornu.

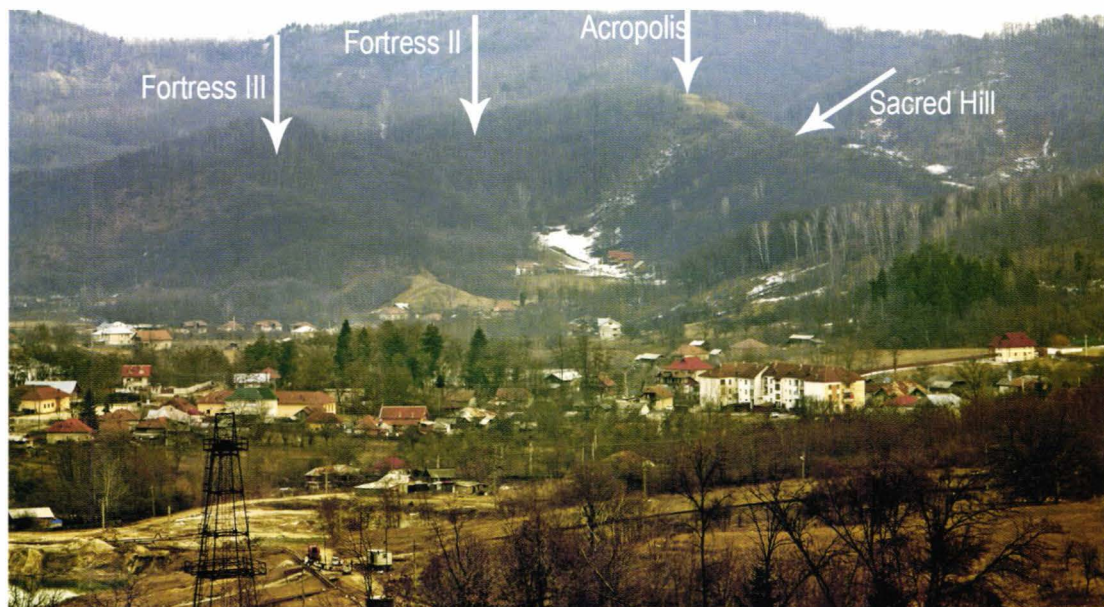


5.1.

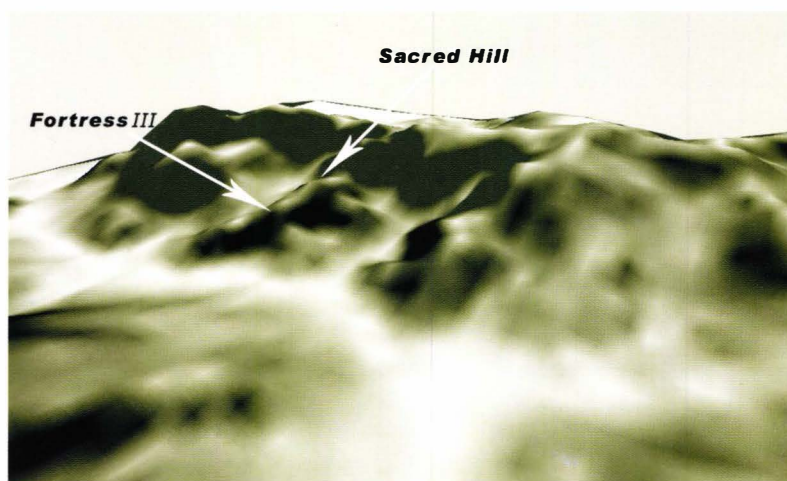


5.2.

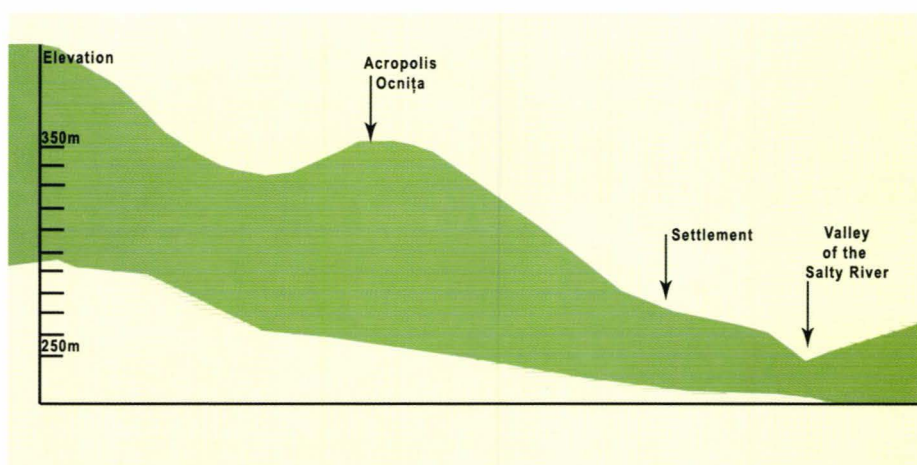
Fig. 5. General views. 1. Măgura Moigradului; 2. Pietroasa mică - *Gruia Dării*



6.1.

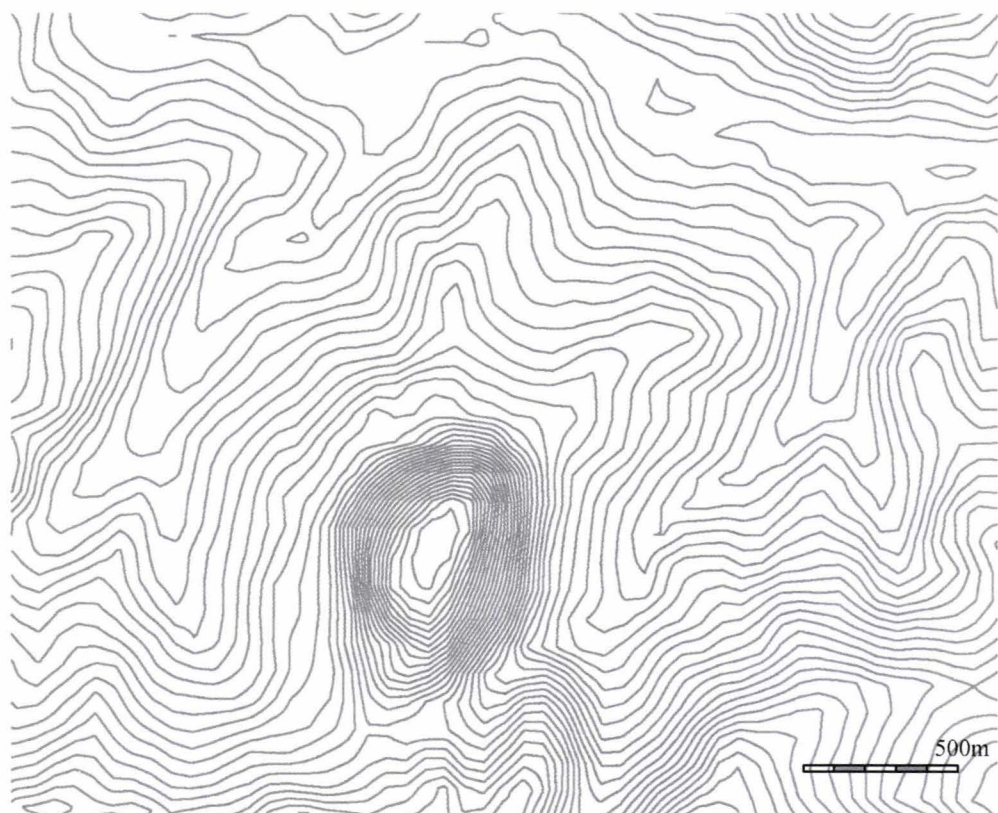


6.2.



6.3.




Fig. 6. Ocnita. 1. General view from Northwest; 2. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the relief in a Slope Analysis - view from Northwest; 3. The altimetric profile of the site (South North).

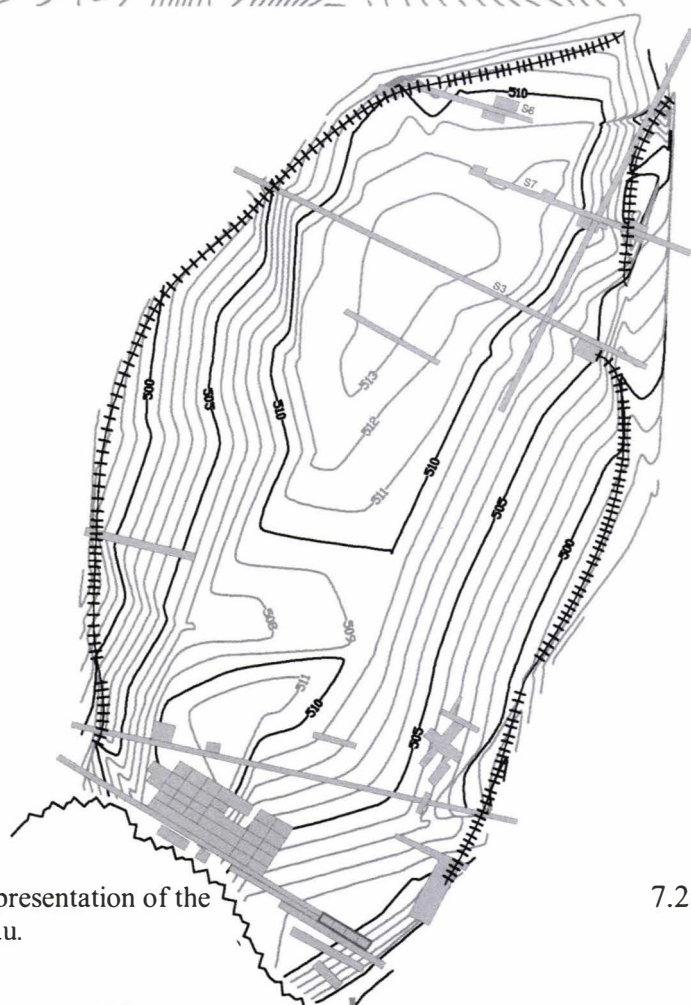


7.1.



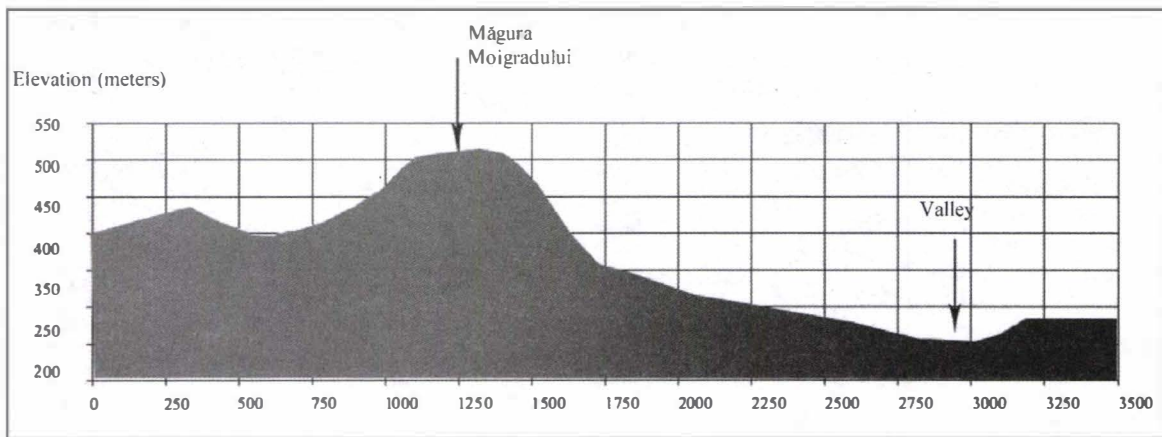
100m

-  Excavated surfaces
-  Modern quarry
-  Fortification

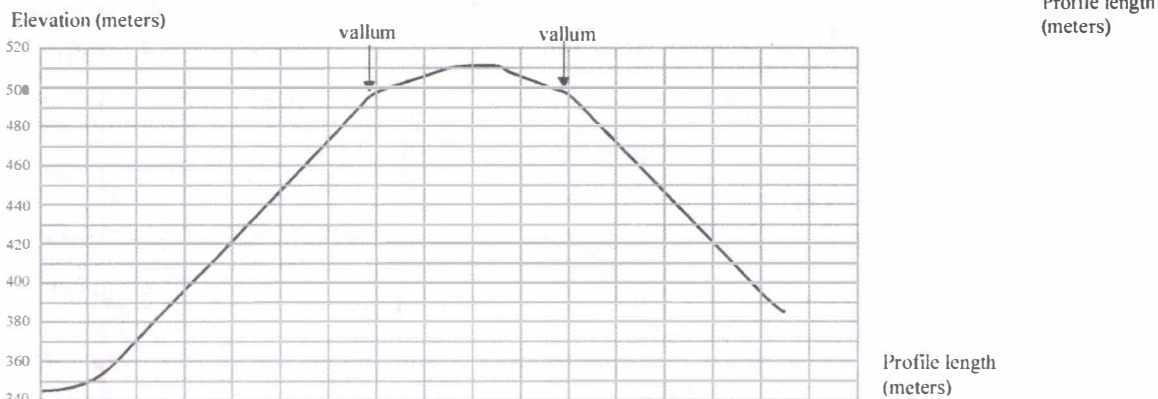


7.2.

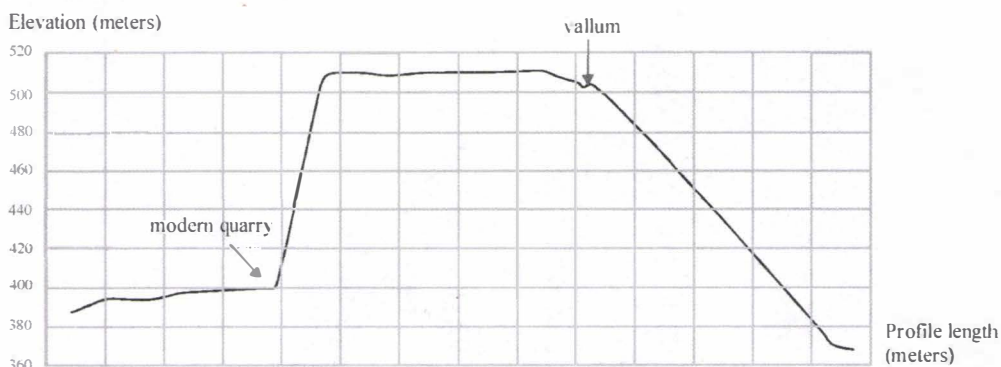
Fig. 7. Măgura Moigradului . 1. Relief representation of the microregion; 2. General plan of the plateau.



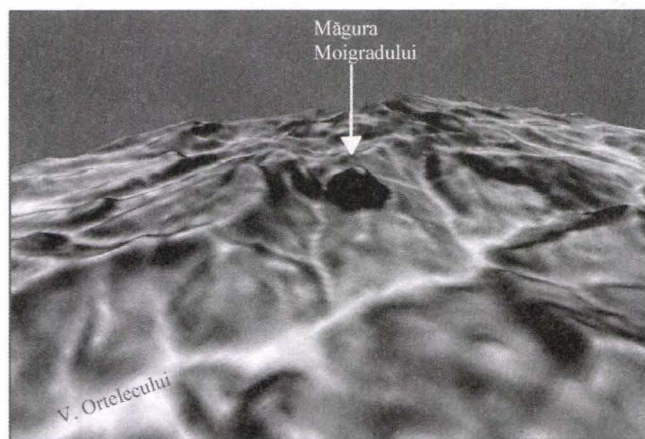
8.1.



8.2

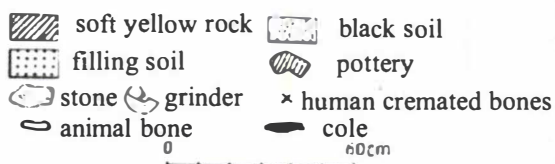
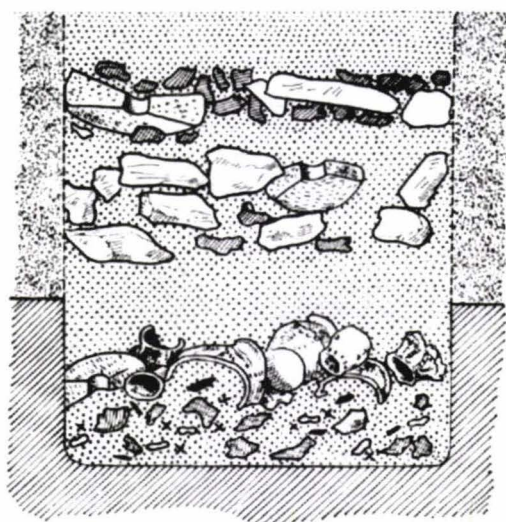


8.3.

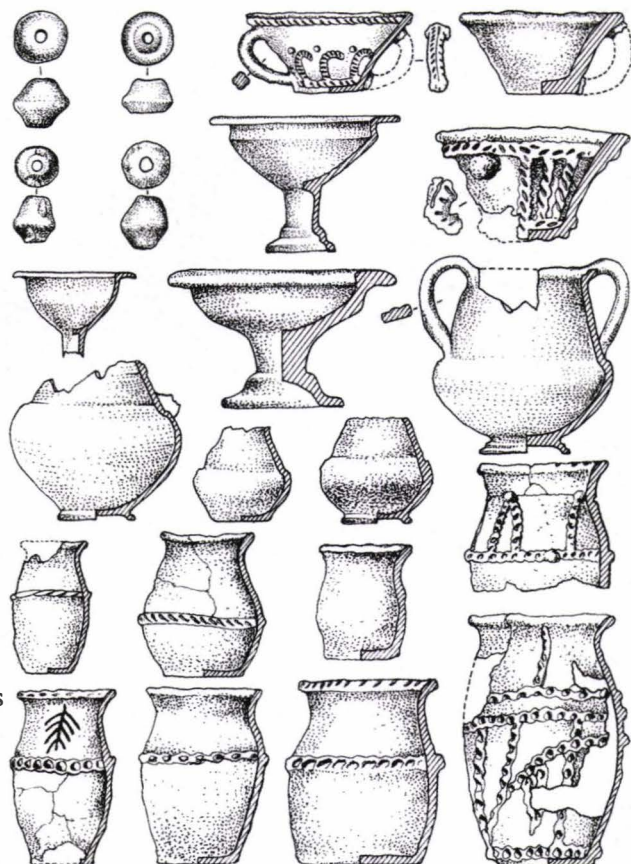


8.4.

Fig. 8. Magura Moigradului. 1. Altimetric profile of the microregion (Southeast-Northwest); 2. Altimetric profile of the hill (West-East); 3. Altimetric profile of the hill (South-North); 4. Three -dimensional reconstruction of the relief in a Slope analysis - view from West.



9.1.

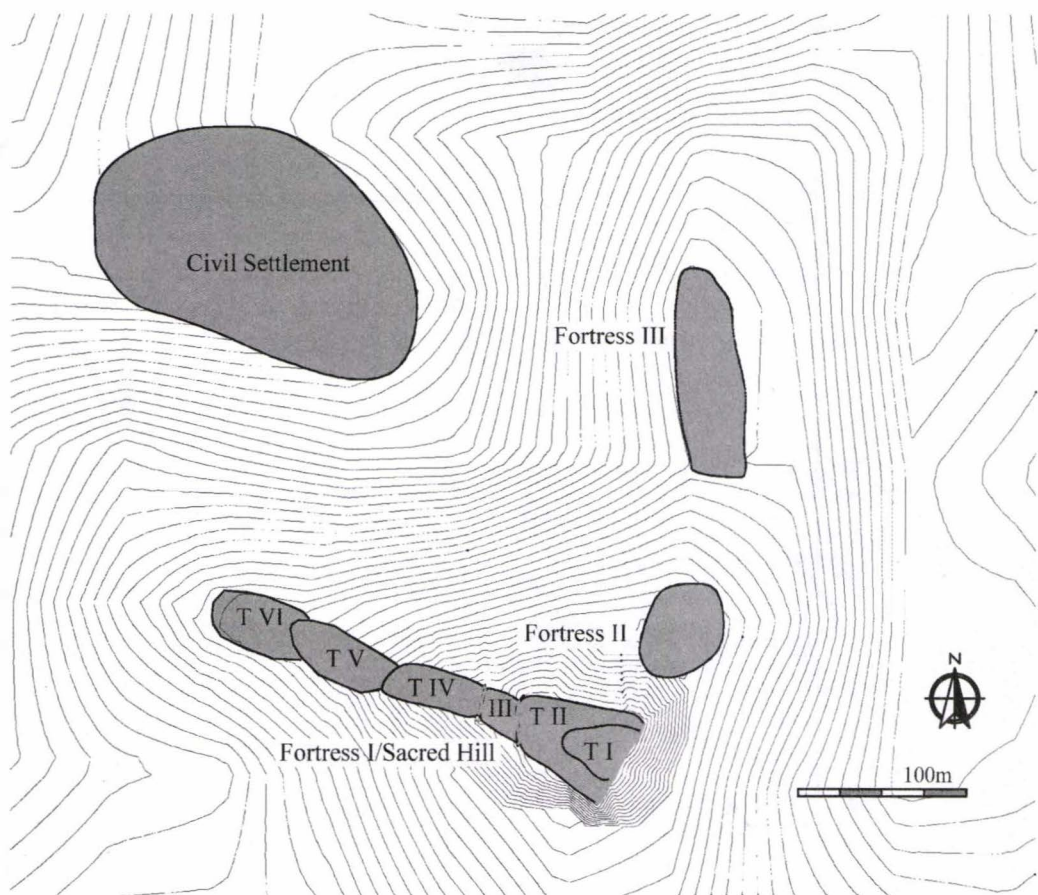


9.2.

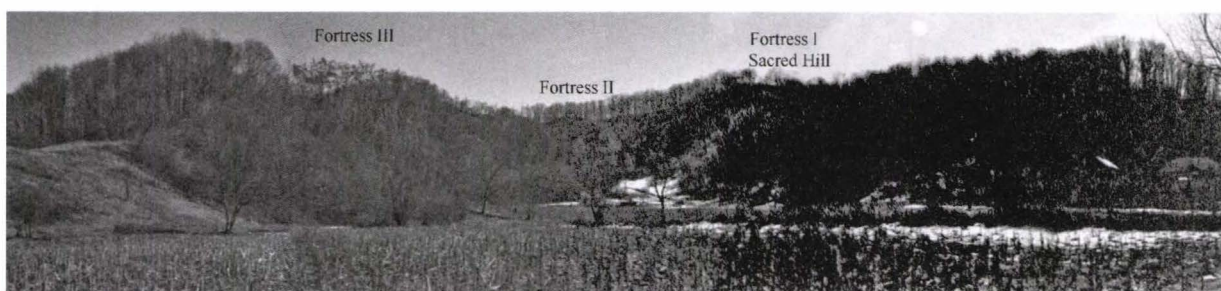


9.3.

Fig. 9. Măgura Moigradului. 1. Pit 55 - vertical drawing; 2. Inventory of pit 55; 3. Pit 55; (9.1., 9.2., after Macrea, Russu, Mitrofan 1962)



10.1.



10.2.

Fig. 10. Ocnîța. 1.General plan of the archacological assemblage; 2. Panoramic view of the site from Northwest.

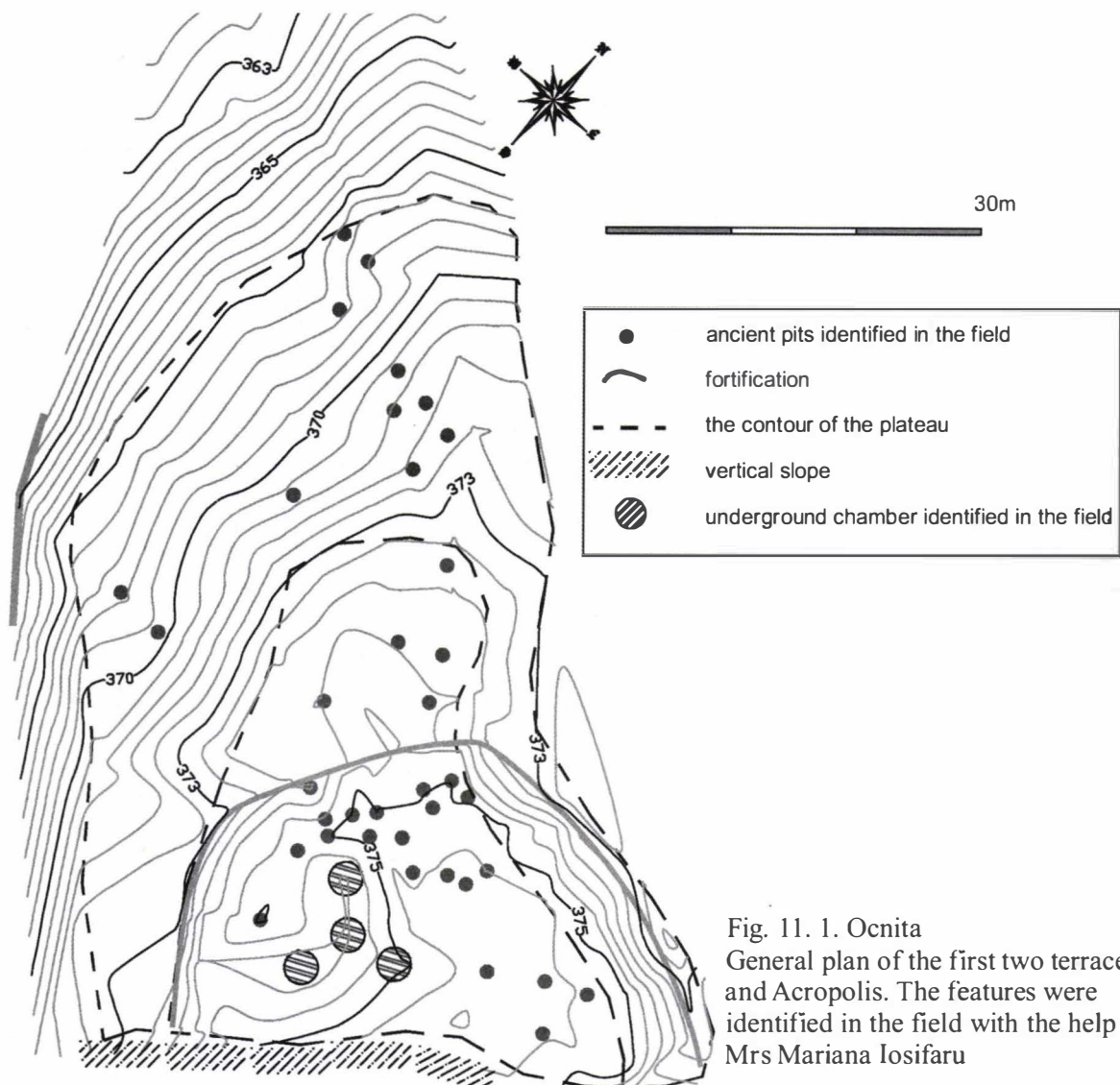


Fig. 11. 1. Ocnita
General plan of the first two terraces and Acropolis. The features were identified in the field with the help of Mrs Mariana Iosifaru

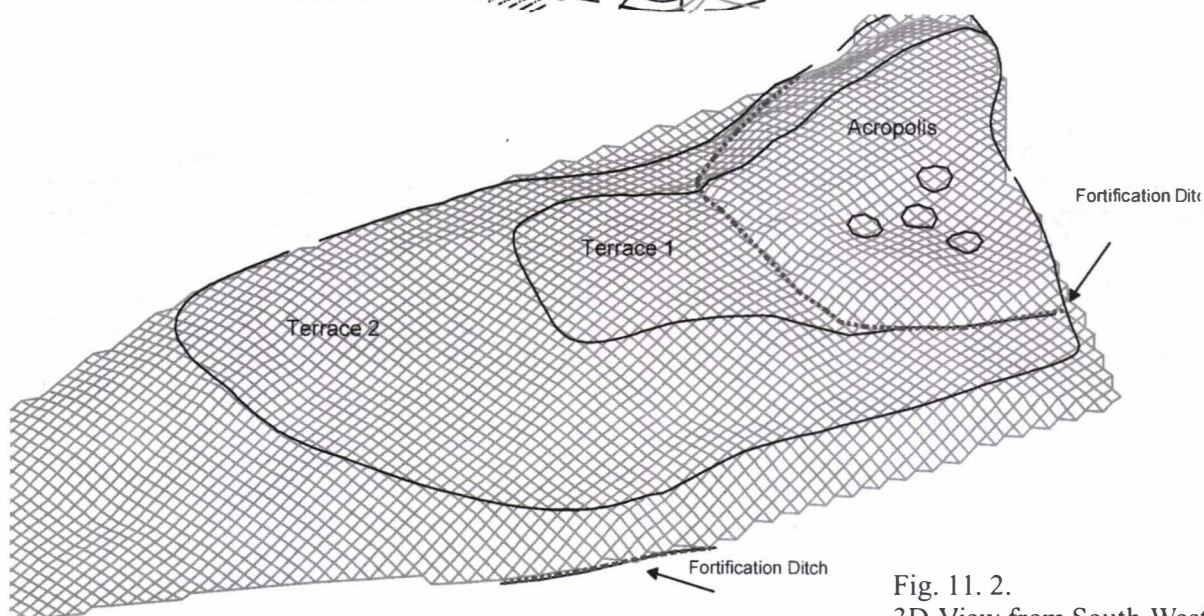
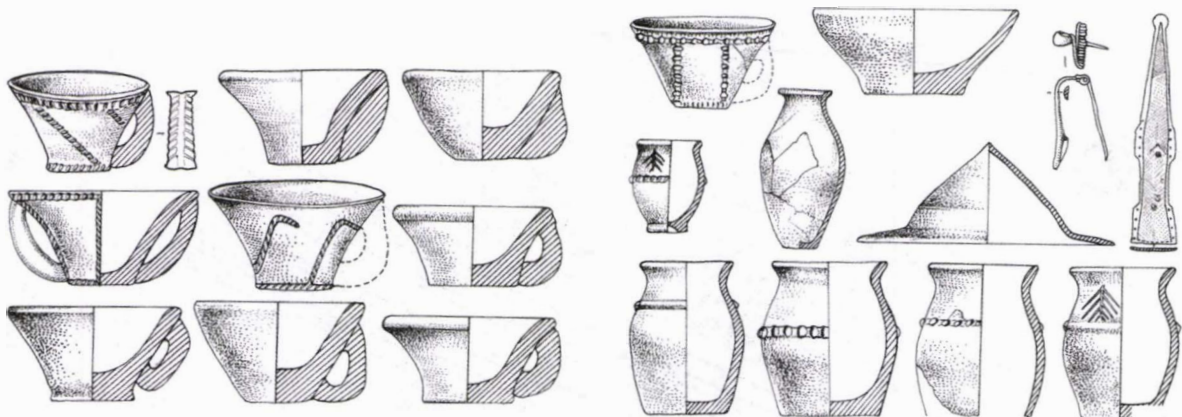
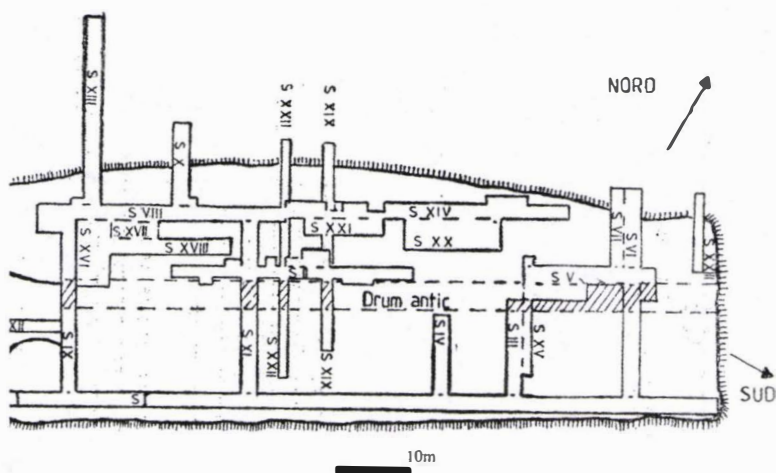


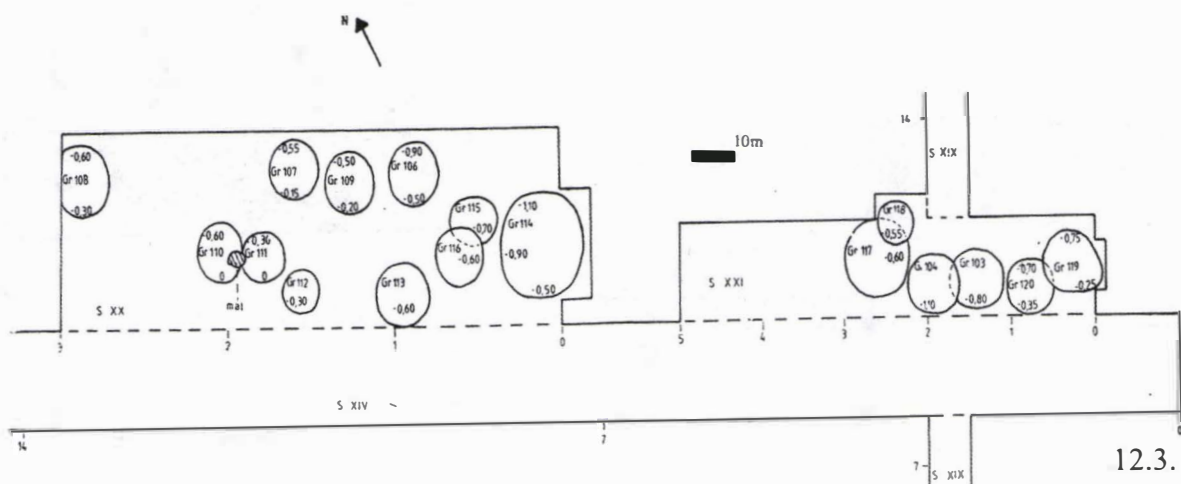
Fig. 11. 2.
3D-View from South-West



12.1.

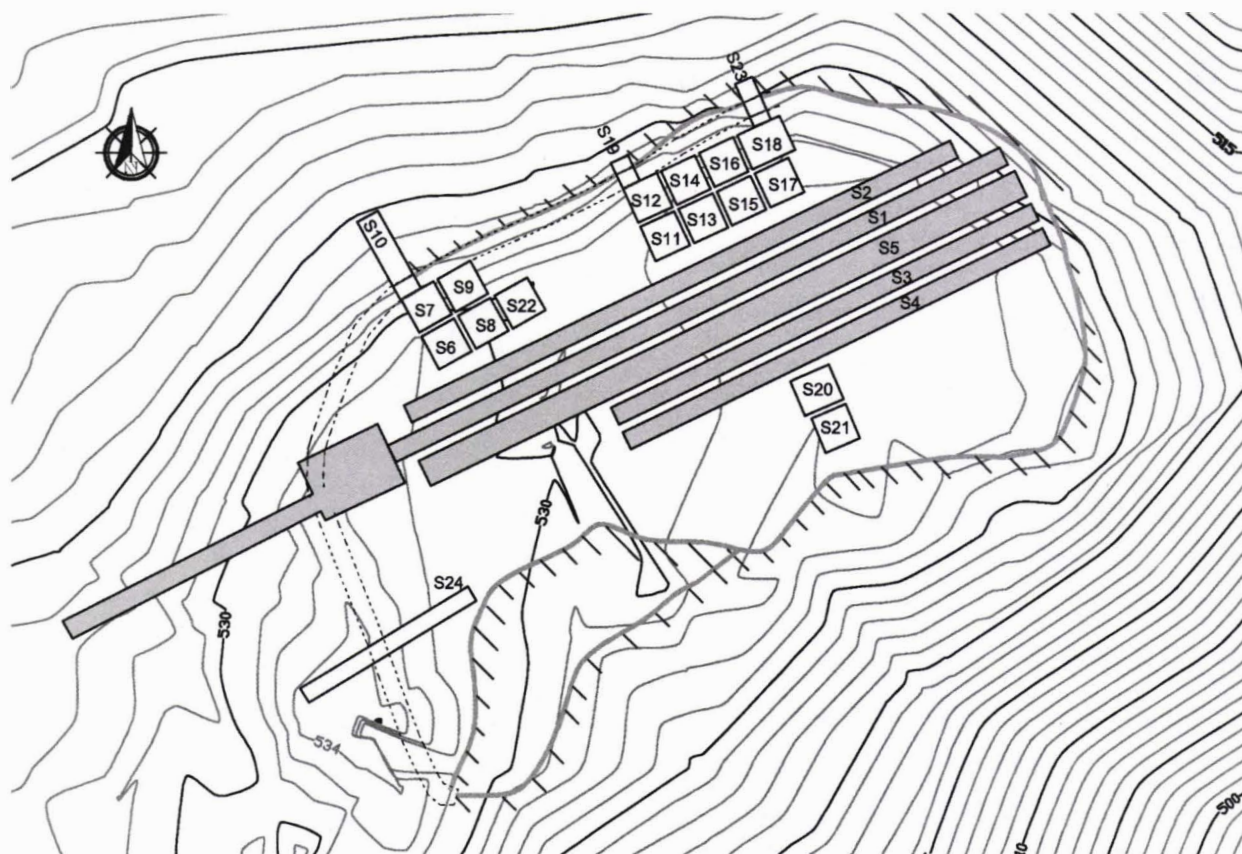


12.2.

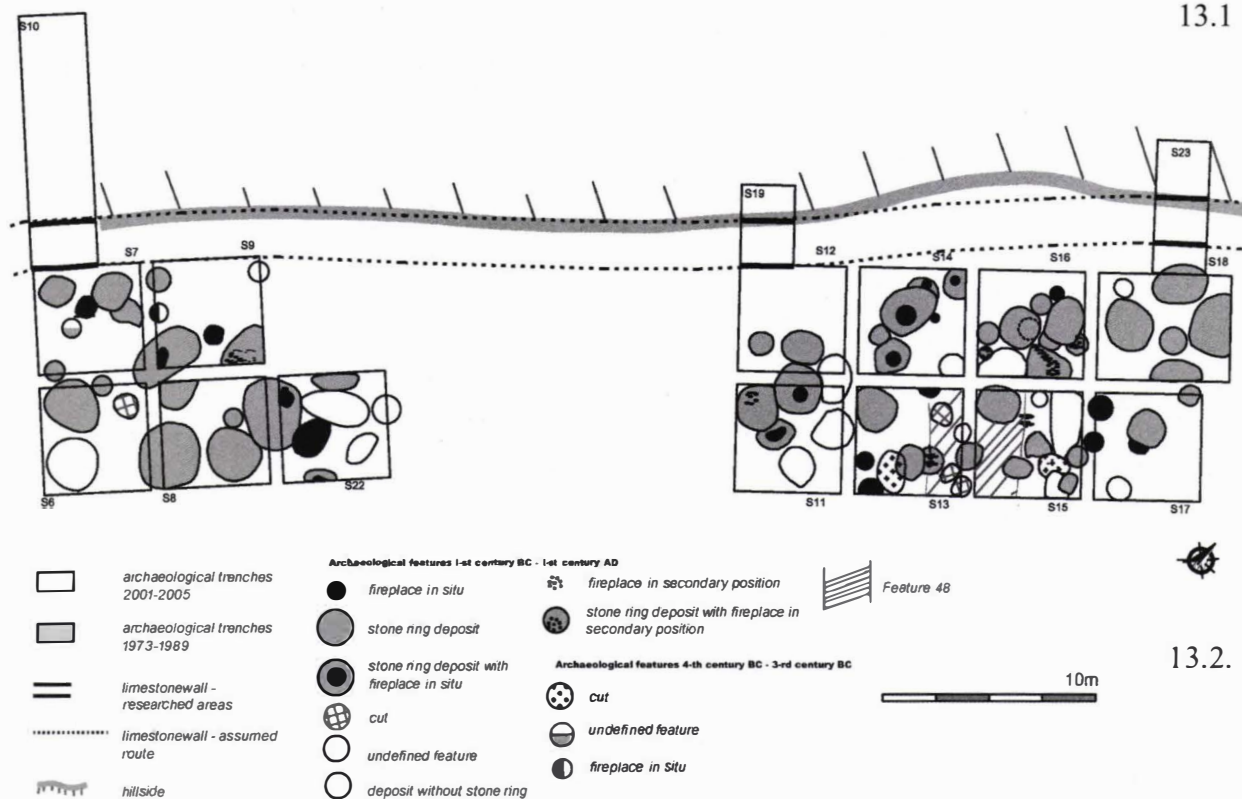


12.3.

Fig. 12. Ocnîța. 1. The inventory of pit 105 located on the *Fifth Terrace*; 2. The plan of the *Fifth Terrace*; 3. Detail of an excavation surface researched on the *Fifth Terrace* (12.1., 12.2., 12.3. after Berciu, Iosifaru, Diaconescu 1993, p.153-4, pl. III-IV, pl. II, p. 150, pl. I).

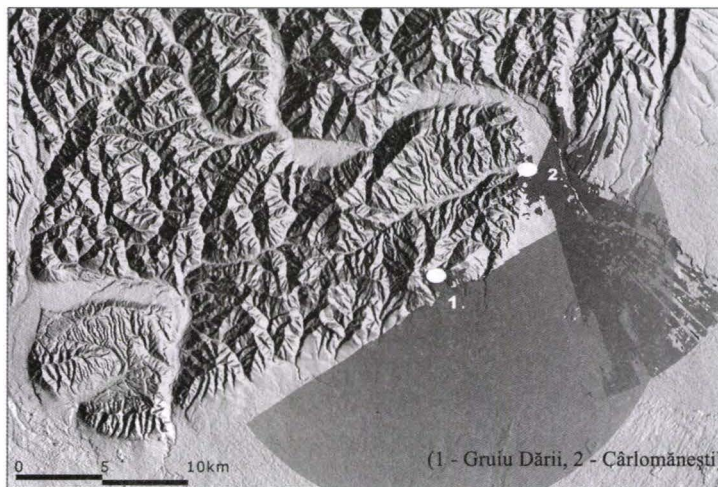


13.1

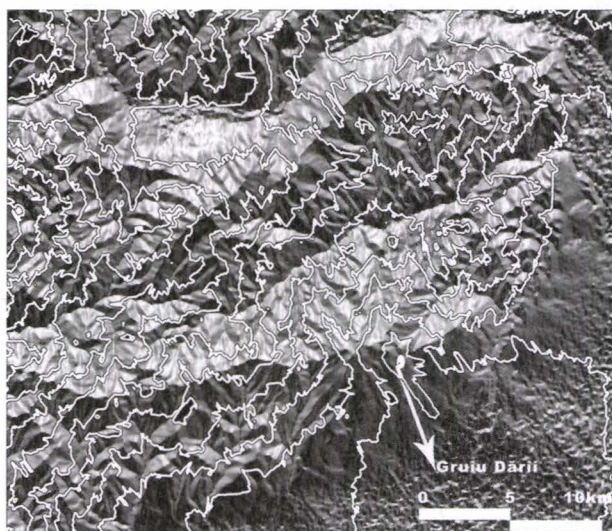


13.2.

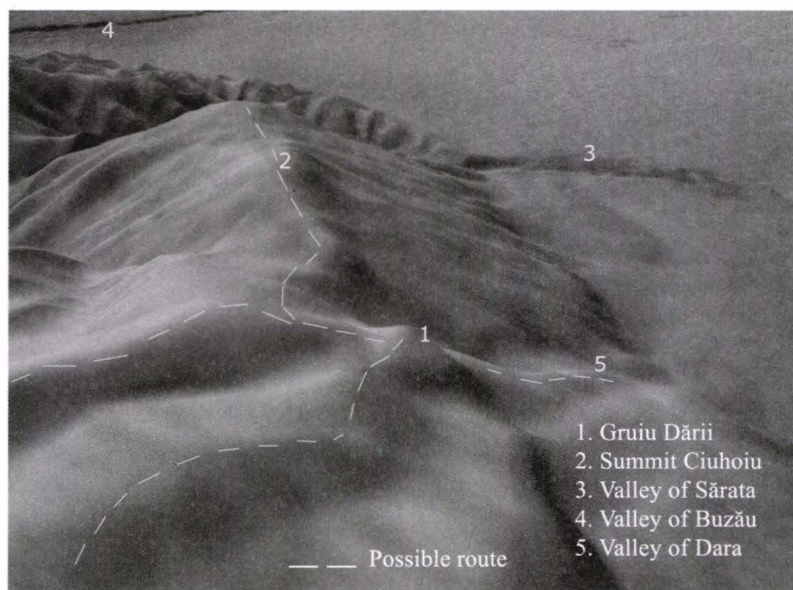
Fig 13. Pietroasa Mică - Gruia Dariei. 1. General plan; 2. Detail plan.



14.1.

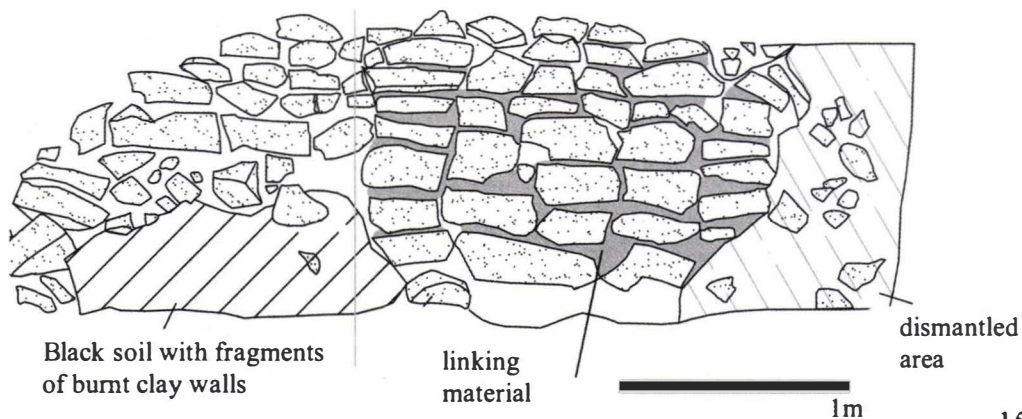


14.2.



14.3.

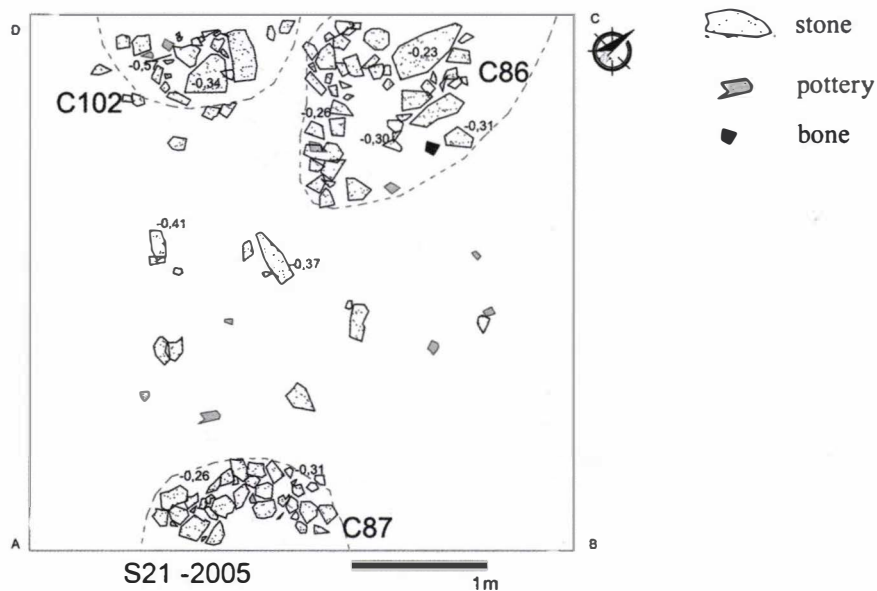
Fig. 14. Pietroasa Mică - *Gruiu Dării*. 1. Viewshed Analysis; 2. Least Cost Surface Analysis; 3. Three dimensional reconstruction of the relief in a Slope Analysis - view from Northwest.



15.1.



15.2.



15.3.

Fig. 15. Pietroasa Mică - *Gruia Dării*; 1. Vertical drawing of the wall; 2. Feature number 75; 3. Excavation surface 21 - plan drawing.

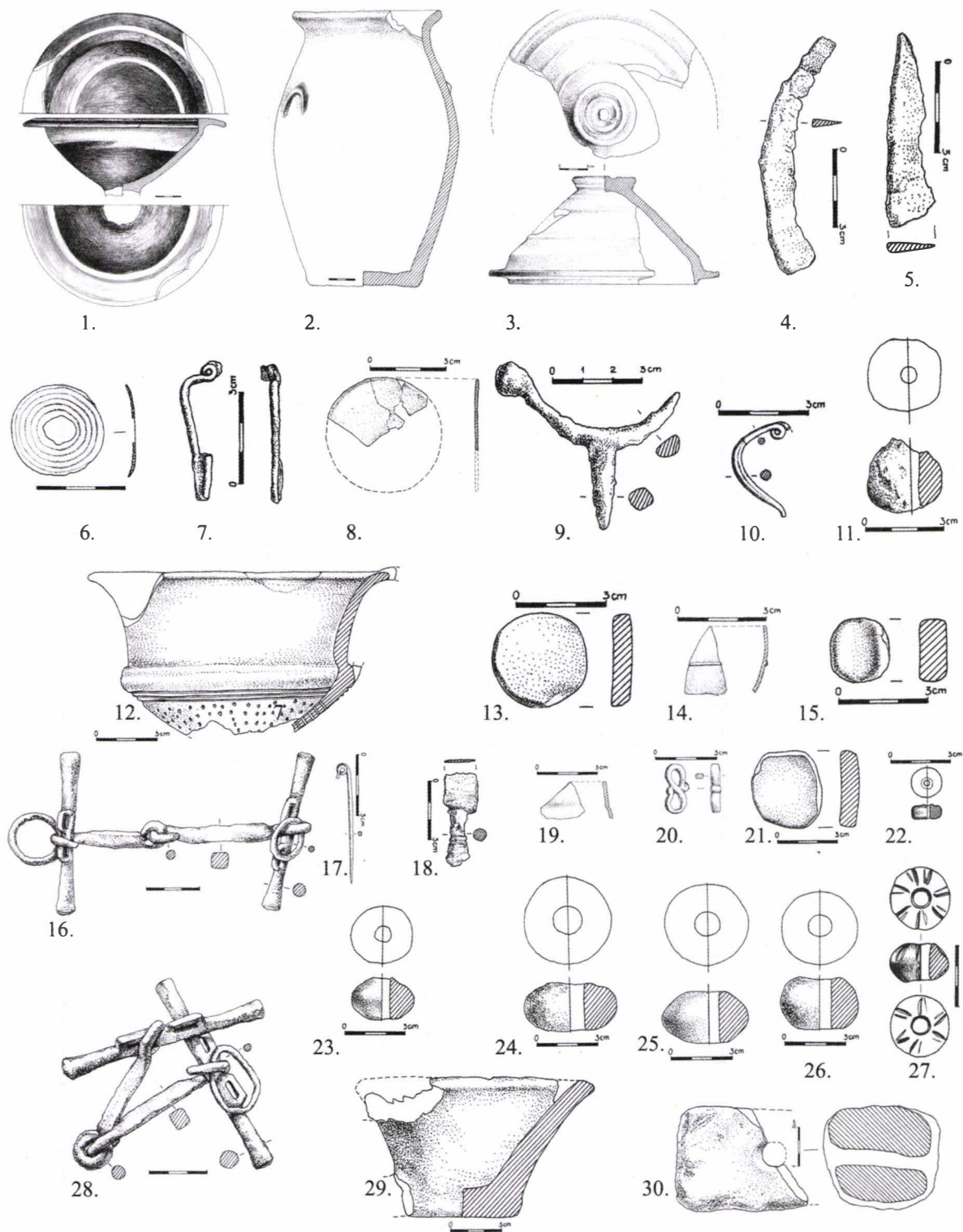


Fig. 15. Pietroasa Mică - Gruiu Dării - The inventory of features 18 (Positions in drawing 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 12) 38 (16, 28), 41 (20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 30), 44 (17, 18, 19, 23, 24), 46 (3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15).

WHERE WAS THE SO-CALLED MAIN SANCTUARY OF DIONYSUS IN THRACE IN THE 6th - 1st CENTURIES B. C.? (an opinion)

S. Topalov (Bulgaria)

Key-words: Thrace, sanctuaries, mountains, temples, Dionysos,.

The cult of Dionysus in Ancient Thrace and holy places connected with this cult (mountains, mounts, hills, holy land, holy woods, temples, etc. noted in general as sanctuary or sanctuaries of Dionysus) are mentioned both in the first works of the ancient authors and many of the later works having reached our days and containing certain historical information (*a short review of the information related to the sanctuaries of Dionysus in Thrace is given in Златковская 1971, p. 248, NB 173; Фол 1990, p. 178-194*). They mention the existence in south-west Thrace of the so-called now most well-known sanctuary of Dionysus or the so-called now main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace and give a fragmentary and, in most of the cases, contradictory information about its location. Without submitting to discussion the point whether one or several very well-known centres connected with the cult of Dionysus had existed in Ancient Thrace (similar to the numerous great centres connected with the cult of the Great Mother Goddess in Thrace) and whether one or another of the existing great cult centres was selected to be the most important one in certain periods of time, we shall call, in this study, the holy place commented in the sources and related to the cult of Dionysus the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace.

The modern research workers having studied the past of Ancient Thrace have dealt with the problem for different reasons and have expressed different opinions on the point where the main sanctuary of Dionysus was. We think that there is not yet a view having been generally accepted which could adduce sufficiently sound arguments to accept at least one of the assumptions expressed about the exact place of the main sanctuary of Dionysus.

The new communications having been made lately that the main sanctuary of Dionysus has been discovered this time in the Eastern Rhodopes are the cause which has provoked us to express our opinion on the problem brought forward. Unfortunately, specific arguments taken from the information available from the ancient authors and supported by facts of well-known historical events having taken place in this region in the period from the 6th to the 1st century B. C. have not been given. Instead some assumptions based on the existence of a sanctuary in rocks known for a very long time already and similar to many such sanctuaries existing in almost the whole territory of south Thrace are categorically presented as proven. This is one of the reasons for which we make a review of part of the scanty information from the sources and interpret it somewhat differently. For this purpose we have taken into consideration the actions of the historical persons having participated in the events of that epoch (persons mentioned by the ancient authors, when speaking about the main sanctuary of Dionysus) and we have tried to avoid the modern trivial interpretation of this information. In our review we shall submit direct and indirect information of numismatic character related to the problem and our conclusions drawn from the study of such numismatic information and from our visits to the sanctuaries in rocks in south Thrace, and we shall express our opinion on some results of the studies having

been carried out up to now and related to the main cults in Ancient Thrace and those specifying the location of the main sanctuary of Dionysus. At the same time we shall point out the arguments which should be adduced in our opinion when looking for the answer to the question where in Ancient Thrace the main sanctuary of Dionysus must have been. We shall also point out a complex of adjacent cult places which may be considered with good grounds, in our opinion, as the most probable main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace.

The information known at the moment from the sources has been quoted and commented in the studies having been carried out up to now. Therefore, we shall quote only some passages of works of ancient authors.

In his "History" Herodotus (who wrote in the 5th century B. C.) mentions that "The Satrae were not conquered by anybody, as far as I know; they were the only tribe among the Thracians that remained free to this day, because they live in high mountains covered with various thick forests and snow and because they are bellicose. The sanctuary of Dionysus belongs to them, and this sanctuary is on the highest mountain. The oracles in the sanctuary are Bessians from the Satrae. There is also a priestess who gives answers in the same way as in Delphi, but nothing special" (Herodotus, VII, 111).¹

Aristotle (who wrote in the 4th century B. C.) mentions in his "Strange Things" ("About the Marvellous Stories") that in "Crestonia that is in the lands of the Bisaltae"... "there is also a great beautiful temple of Dionysus in which, they say, a feast takes place and oblations are made, and when the god intends to make the year fertile, a large flame appears, and all men who are near the holy place, can see it. When (he intends to make) a lean year, no such light appears..." (Aristoteles, 842a, 122).

In a scholium to "Hekuba" of Euripides (it is not known, when this scholium was written) it is mentioned that "Some affirm that the sanctuary of Dionysus must be around Pangeus, others - around Hemus..." (Euripides, Hekuba, scholia, 1267).

It is possible to find a short information related to worshipping of Dionysus in Thrace in a passage of Pomponius Mela (who wrote in the 1st century A. D.) saying that "In the interior of the country rise the mountains Hemus, Rhodopes and Orbel famous for the rites of Liberus and for the orgies of the maenads initiated by Orpheus for the first time" (Pomponius Mela, II 2, 16-33). Here it should be noted that the majority of the research workers connect the mountain Orbelus mainly with the mountain Belassitza but it is also connected with other adjacent massifs.

Suetonius (who wrote in the 1st-2nd centuries A. D.), when commenting the actions of Octavius (the father of the future emperor Octavian August) as a ruler of Macedonia in 60-59 B. C., notes that "... when Octavius led his army somewhere in the remote places of Thrace, he asked the oracle of Dionysus in a barbarian rite in the holy wood of this god about the fate of his son, and his prediction was confirmed by the priests, since after the wine was spilt on the altar, a flame flared high up to the sky over the sanctuary - an omen similar to the one that was bestowed only on Alexander the Great, when the latter offered a sacrifice on the same altar" (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 94).

¹ In this first quotation we shall draw the attention to the differences in transmitting some designations in the translation from ancient Greek in the Bulgarian and Russian publications available to us. Such differences make difficult drawing unambiguous conclusions. This is also valid for this first quotation of which we have several quite different translations. The translations quoted in this study are taken, without mentioning where exactly they are included, from "**Sources of the History of Thrace and the Thracians**" vol. 1, 1982, and vol. 2, 2002, as far as the authors until Aristotle included are concerned, and from "**Sources of Ancient History and Geography of Thrace and Macedonia**", 1949, as far as the other later authors are concerned.

Dionis Casius (who wrote in the 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.), when describing the military actions of Crasus in Thrace in 29-28 B. C., notes that, “when he gained a victory in a battle with the Thracian tribes the Medae and the Serdae, he cut the hands of the captured warriors and thus he could check them, however with difficulty. He devastated also the lands of all the other Thracian tribes with the exception of the Odrysae. He spared the latter because they worshipped Dionysus and met him unarmed. He bestowed on them the land on which they celebrated their god after he took it away from the Bessae that owned it up to that moment” (Dionis Casii, LI 23, 2-27).

Macrobius (who wrote in the 4th-5th centuries A. D.), when commenting information from Aristotle, notes that “Aristotle who wrote “The Principles of Gods” affirmed that Apollo and Liberus Pater are one and the same god, and many other evidences prove it; even he says, the Ligerac in Thrace had a sanctuary of Liberus Pater where prophesies were made...” (Macrobius, *Sat.* I, 18).

In one of his studies K. Vlahov discusses in detail this information of Macrobius and gives a different translation of this passage of Macrobius to which he has added his own interpretations. We quote hereunder the whole K. Vlahov’s passage which is of interest in this case:

“We have learned that the Sun is also considered as Liberus (Italian god of fertility and plants) which those people (i. e. the inhabitants of Thrace, my note - K. V.) calling him Sebadius glorify in a splendid cult, as Alexander wrote, and to this god is built up on a hill a temple surrounded with a palisade of pointed stakes with a round roof open in the middle” (Vlahov 1982, p. 43).

The critical review of the earliest information of ancient authors included in the sources shows that the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace is situated somewhere in south-west Thrace. The later authors and the later scholiums to some of their works give direct information about the existence of well-known great sanctuaries of Dionysus not only in this region, but also in the Rhodopes and even in Hemus. Their different description also gives us indirect information about the existence of many sanctuaries of Dionysus in Thrace. It is possible to determine from the information from the authors quoted above that in their opinion the sanctuaries described are:

- “on the highest mountain”, (i. e. on a peak - it should be noted that the highest peaks in this region are bald);
- on a mountain (different “mountains” in Thrace are named without mentioning that this is “the highest mountain” which explains to a certain extent that there is a “holy wood”, since the forests in his region are mainly on the lower peaks);
- at the foot of a mountain or even a hill (this being an explanation of the existence there of a “holy land”, “a holy wood”, a spring, etc.);
- in a temple (this information explains in the best way the presence of “a holy land”, “a holy wood”, a spring, etc.).

In a number of monographs related to the study of the Thracian religion prof. A. Fol describes the cult of the Thracian Dionysus, the rites connected with this cult and the Thracian sanctuaries of Dionysus. In accordance with his studies “this god which has no name in the Thracian-Pelasgian antiquity” has been identified “first with the solid cosmic element, the stone, it is a god of the rocks”, “this anonymous god having been adopted first in Delphi in the 8th

century B. C.”... “in one of the most ancient Thracian-Pelasgian sanctuaries” (Фол 1990, p. 147). “At the beginning of the deification of Dionysus holy erect stones and altars were decorated with flowers” (Фол 1991, p. 252). On the basis of these studies it is possible to draw the conclusion that the earliest sanctuary (or the earliest sanctuary of Dionysus represented natural rocky configurations. In Ancient Thrace the other main Thracian god, the Great Mother Goddess, was also worshipped on mountains. It is sufficient to note that the main cult place of this goddess was on the Holy Mountain. We shall add that the great cult centre of the Great Mother Goddess named in the later epochs Cybella and Artemis Phosphoros built up in the second millenium B. C. was on a rock in the highest place in Kabyle. Some research workers presume that the image of the god worshipped in the region of Kabyle was represented in an archaic way by sculpturing its contours on the rock.

Sharing his personal impressions of the sanctuary of Delphi prof. A. Fol notes: “I noticed that many recesses and tombs, sacrificial platforms and steps were hewn into the rock. I saw recesses and tombs near the holy spring too... However, there is no doubt for me that Delphi is a majestic sanctuary in rocks belonging to the Thracian-Pelasgian culture from the middle of the second millenium B. C. (Фол 1986, p. 150-151). Further in the study he gives some short information about the best known large Thracian sanctuaries in rocks in the mountains of Strandzha, Sakar, the Eastern Rhodopes and Rila. In another study the following general description is made: “A wood with a holy stone (a cove, a piece of rock) near some water is the typical archaic sanctuary in the open” (Фол 1990, p. 164). We have also noted the existence of such sanctuaries of Dionysus in Pirin, in the region of Pangeus (where was the main sanctuary of Dionysus according to some research workers) and where the prophets (and not the possessors of the sanctuary) were Bessians The mountain in the region was named Orbelus in the sources (connected with the mountain of Belassitza at the present times and/or some of its adjacent spurs to the east or the west) and was “in Crestonia, near the land of the Bisaltae” which corresponds to the massifs around and to the west of Belassitza situated to the north of Ancient Macedonia.

Since many of the ancient authors, when mentioning the main sanctuary of Dionysus, locate it in the Rhodopes, many modern research workers look for this sanctuary in the Rhodopes for this reason. However, we shall submit some evidences supporting a different opinion on the point which massifs were usually given this name by the ancient authors, when they used the name of the Rhodopes, very popular among the ancient people without trying to situate this mountain more exactly.

In the early epoch especially the high mountains of the interior of Thrace situated most closely to the Aegean coast represented according to the ancient Greeks two very long, almost parallel massifs. This notion was based on the actual situation of Hemus (Stara Planina) within the lands of Thrace to which were added some smaller spurs to the west and the nearby parallel parts of the mountain Sredna Gora. The mountains consisting of the present Rhodopes, Pirin (and Rila), Ograzhden, Belassitza and some other smaller spurs to the west of Belassitza appeared to them as a second similar long massif. It is possible to suppose that Sakar and Strandzha in the east were included in some cases in the name of the Rhodopes. One of the reasons for such a general designation of the group of mountains by the name of the Rhodopes is that they were inhabited by one community of people, namely the Thracians. These massifs are related in the ideas of the ancient authors to the numerous Thracian tribes having populated these regions. In most of the cases the name of the Thracian tribe populating the region was given as a reference point for a better geographical determination of the part of the mountain in question, and only in rare cases were the names of some spurs mentioned as in the case of

Orbelus already mentioned. Here we shall quote again Herodotus who mentions laconically that “the Bessians from the Satrac... rule the sanctuary of Dionysus, and this sanctuary is on the highest mountain” (Herodotus, VII, 111). In our opinion, “the highest mountain” according to Herodotus means the highest mountain in Thrace which includes, in his opinion, not only the relatively low massif of today’s Rhodopes but also the actually highest mountains of Rila and Pirin, since in the earliest ideas of the ancient authors this range of mountains was designated by the general name of the Rhodopes.

An indirect proof thereof can be found in looking through the old maps existing still nowadays in which are marked parts of the land populated by the Thracians. The map of Ortelius shows that Stara Planina and the mountains situated to the south of Stara Planina which have different names at present are almost parallel. They were marked by the general name of the Rhodopes in the antiquity. It is possible to see clearly on the map of Mercator that the range of mountains in the west of today’s Rhodopes are represented as a continuous massif.

Information given by Herodotus in the 5th century B. C. represents serious grounds to suppose that by the name of the Rhodopes were designated several massifs situated very far to the west of today’s Rhodopes. Noting chronologically events of the campaign of Xerxes through Thrace, the father of the history says that “The king of the Bisaltae who is a Thracian did there and in the Crestonian land an unheard of action: he did not agree voluntarily to be Xerxes’s slave and fled high up in the Rhodopes after having forbidden to his sons to take the field against Athens. But they either did not obey his father or they simply wanted to see the war and took the field with the Persians. However, after they returned back safe and sound all of them, and they were six, their father gouge out their eyes for their inobedience” (Herodotus, VIII, 16).

According to the studies having been carried out up to now the Bisaltae ruled over the lands to the west of the lower course of Strimon (the river Strouma), their northern border reaching Orbelus (Belassiza?). The Thracian tribe of the Crestonae inhabited lands to the west of the Bisaltae situated on the northern slopes of the mountains of Dissoron and Bogdan (*Кратка енциклопедия тракийски древности* = *Short Encyclopedia of Thracian Antiquities*, 1993, p. 42 and 155).

If the text of Herodotus is analyzed carefully, it will be established that, when Xerxes reached the lands of the anonymous ruler of the Bisaltae and the Crestonae, the latter could not fly from the Persians “up in the mountain of the Rhodopes”, since the western parts of the Rhodopes is about 150 km to the east, and the road to that part was already under Persian control. This anonymous king could withdraw “up in the mountain” only to the north where several massifs to the west of Belassitza are situated. Here we shall point out again that “in Crestonia near the land of the Bisaltae” “there is also a very big beautiful temple of Dionysus” (Aristoteles, 842a, 122) and we shall also note again the information of Pomponius Mela quoted already above and related to the existence of a sanctuary of Dionysus in the mountain of Orbelus (Pomponius Mela, II 2, 16-33). Another similar information is included in the text of Dionis Casius also quoted above saying that after Xerxes won the battle with the Medae and the Serdae, he bestowed on the Odrysae the sanctuary of Dionysus which “he took away from the Bessae” (Dionis Casii LI 23, 2-27). Obviously Crasus did not wage war against the Medae and the Serdae in today’s Rhodopes. Therefore, it should be mentioned here again that the Bessae did not possess the sanctuary of Dionysus, but Bessians were oracles in the sanctuary of Dionysus as in the earlier epoch priests of Thracian origin were oracles in Delphi.

We also find grounds that the main sanctuary of Dionysus was not in today’s Rhodopes, when interpreting some information from the sources and connecting it with the coinage and the

decoration of vessels of precious metals with images and symbols of the early Odrysian regal coinage.

The image of a bipennis connected with the cult of Dionysus was introduced in the coinage of the junior branch of the Odrysian dynasty at the time of Sitalces. We have information about two great campaigns of Sitalces to south-west, the first against the Peonae, when he added territories around the upper and the middle courses of the river Strouma to his possessions, and the second one carried out shortly thereafter against the Macedonian Kingdom and described in details in the sources (Thucydides, II 29, II 67, II 95-101). It is considered that the aim of these military activities was to satisfy the territorial pretensions of the Odrysian kings to the Macedonian Kingdom for lands around the lower course of the river Strouma. It is exactly at that time that the image of a bipennis started to be used as a symbol of the royal-priestly power in the lands of Ancient Thrace, and it is for the first time that it is connected with the Odrysaes and their king Sitalces (May 1950, p. 96). The image of the bipennis is used by the successors of Sitalces - Metokos, Amatokos, Teres II - as a dynastic symbol of the coinage of the Odrysian kings of the junior branch of the dynasty after Teres I. It is considered that the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace fell in the hands of the Odrysaes during the reign of Sitalces and that it is this event that is the reason for which the image of the bipennis was adopted as a symbol of the kings residing in this region of the Odrysian Kingdom. The same image is encountered on objects of precious metals such as the vessels of the Rogozen treasure on which the name of Satokos, the son of Sitalces, is written in addition to the image of the bipennis (*relatively detailed explanation in* Топалков 1994, p. 74-75). At that time Sitalces did not wage war with the independent Thracians (called Satrae, Diae and Bessaie) populating part of today's Rhodopes. The latter joined voluntarily his army, and for this reason it should be considered with good grounds that he did not take possession of the main sanctuary of Dionysus. The direct or indirect submission to Sitalces of some regions around the middle and lower course of the river Strouma at the time of the campaigns mentioned here shows that probably the main sanctuary of Dionysus was somewhere in these lands, since the Thracian territories incorporated in the Odrysian Kingdom at that time were situated exactly in these regions. The northern part of the land of the Migdonae, the Crestonae and the Bisaltae was also exactly in this region. The main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace was also in this region according to the information included in most of the sources.

A parallel between the time, when the main sanctuary of Dionysus was put under the control of the representatives of the junior branch of the Odrysian dynasty, and the time, when the main sanctuary of the Great Mother Goddess in Thrace situated on the Holy Mountain was put under the control of the representatives of the senior branch of the Odrysian dynasty, shows the almost simultaneous introduction of the two different dynastic symbols in the coinage of both branches of the dynasty. In the case of the junior branch (whose representatives after Sitalces were Metokos, Amatokos and Teres II) it is the image of a bipennis connected with the cult of Dionysus. In the case of the senior branch (whose representatives after Sparadokos were Seuthes I, Hebryzelmis, Kotys I and Kersebleptes) it is the image of the typically shaped conical vessel with two handles (cotyle?, cotyliscus?) connected with the cult of the Great Mother Goddess. Here it should be noted that after Philip II thrust the Odrysian kings out of the southern parts of the Odrysian Kingdom towards the initial lands of the Odrysian tribal union (situated around the middle course of the rivers Maritza and Toundzha), where were not the main sanctuaries of Dionysus and the Great Mother Goddess, these two basic images used until that time were not stamped anymore on the coins of the next Odrysian kings.

The combination of some other data from the sources related to the events of the period of the 4th - 1st centuries B. C. represents an important argument that the main sanctuary of Dionysus was not in today's Rhodopes.

The current studies show that the route of the greatest military campaigns in Thrace having taken place in antiquity did not cross today's Rhodopes from the time of the Persian invasion to the time when Thrace was declared Roman province. Even the victorious Roman army could not place under its direct control the highest parts of the Rhodopes until about the middle of the 1st century B. C. Sometimes the campaign of Philip II and later of Alexander III to the east of Macedonia took the old roads laid along the Thracian coast and the courses of the rivers Maritza and Toundzha. The campaigns of the Macedonian kings to the north of Macedonia were mainly along the courses of the rivers Strouma and Iskar. The same is valid for the great campaigns of the Roman military units in the period of the 2nd - 1st centuries A. D. Even when using the well-known roads beaten in military actions, the Thracians were striking heavy blows to the Macedonian army and later to the Roman army in their mountains. We shall note only the first and the last cases, namely that Philip II himself was wounded and his spoils from his victorious campaign in east Thrace were taken away by the Triballae in the region around the gorge of Iskar and that the Roman army, when returning from a victorious war in Asia Minor, was being plundered during three days in the region of the Korpilian gorge by the not so numerous Thracian tribes. For this reason it is extremely illogical to expect that kings such as Philip II and Alexander III could undertake so risky visits to a sanctuary situated high in today's Eastern Rhodopes, because good roads on which even a small military unit may move up to secure the safety of the kings were missing at that time. For the same reason the father of the future emperor Octavian August, being the Roman governor of Macedonia responsible for its protection from the continuous attacks of the neighbouring tribes would hardly undertake a campaign far to the east of Macedonia in territories controlled at that time by the Odrysian kings, allies of Rome, and penetrate in the interior of today's Rhodopes inhabited by the Bessae only with a view to visiting the Thracian sanctuary of Dionysus that was there. Both the Macedonian kings and the Roman governors in Thrace could visit, relatively without problems, the well-known sanctuary of Dionysus starting from the territory of Ancient Macedonia, only if this sanctuary was situated to the north of their possessions in relatively low and more accessible massifs. As the sources show these are the mountain spurs to the west of Belassitza, that are the mountains called by the ancient authors Orbelus and unidentified up to now, which represented probably several adjacent massifs.

Searching additional information about the thesis being elaborated that the popular name of the Rhodopes was used in antiquity to designate in many cases a number of mountains and mountain spurs situated to the west of today's Rhodopes, we came across the comments of B. Guceva related to the determination of the location of the mountain called Orbel by the ancient authors. After reviewing and summarizing the information from the sources, B. Guceva draws the following conclusions: "From all this information it is possible to conclude that initially Orbelus meant only Belassitza, but the later authors who knew poorly the interior of Thrace began to call by this name... all the mountains that were behind Belassitza between the middle courses of the rivers Strouma and Vardar and also between the rivers Strouma and Mesta" (Ilieva 1961, p. 167-168). Since Orbel was described in some of the sources as one of the highest mountains in Thrace together with the Rhodopes and Hemus (Pomponius Mela, II 2, 17), probably this name was used to designate some of the spurs of the mountains to the west of the river Vardar too. This description of the mountains to the west of the river Strouma (and even Mesta) representing one and the same massif supports our opinion that, in the notions of

the ancient people, the long mountain range to the south of Hemus and similar to Hemus was generally called the Rhodopes, a name that was popular in that epoch. And the main sanctuary of Dionysus was in its western part.

It is possible to find also some information related to the place of the main sanctuary of Dionysus in the farthest western parts of Thrace, when making a comparison with some other data from the sources and the images and the inscriptions on a rare issue of Thracian imitations of Thasos tetradrachmas of the second period from the end of the 1st century B. C.

We have noted that about 28 B. C. the main sanctuary of Dionysus was taken away from the Bessae. At that time, the most loyal ally of Rome in Thrace was the Sapeian Kingdom, the main territories of which since the middle of the 2nd century B. C. were around the lower courses of the rivers Strouma and Mesta. The silver coins of high denomination mostly used in this region were the tetradrachmas of Thasos of the second period of coinage and their Thracian imitations minted mainly in their lands at the beginning. In 27 B. C. after the death of Rholes, king of the Getae, Rome conceded his possessions to the dynasty of Thrace tolerated by Rome. Some of the research workers consider that its representatives are of an Odrysian-Sapeian origin. With a view to introducing more easily the Thracian imitations of Thasos tetradrachmas which were new for the territories of Rholes, issues of the same having a typical concave shape of the flans which were not used up to that moment began to be minted. The letters on these coins are replaced with a succession of dots usual for the Thracian imitations of tetradrachmas of the types of Alexander III/Philip III Arrhidaios used up to that moment in the lands of the Getae. The unusual additional inscription <IHNNTUS was put around the barbarized image of the head of Dionysus in one of these issues. This inscription, by analogy with other types of coins minted earlier in this region probably offers the written information related to some change having taken place at that time and allowing to interpret the meaning of the image. The unusual inscription has been deciphered as “(image of the head of Dionysus) Sintian”, and it is possible to suppose that it appeared in this issue exactly, because the main sanctuary of Dionysus was taken away from the Bessae and handed over to the ruling Thracian dynasty tolerated by Rome (detailed study in Топазов 1996, p. 72-74). The Sintae or Sintiae marked in the inscription are localized in some studies to have been inhabiting lands on the right riverside of the Vardar, i. e. to the west of the Bisaltae (Златковская 1971, p. 28, and map 1). According to other studies, the Sintae inhabited lands around the middle course of the river Strouma, and they were related to the Sayae or the Sapeae (Спиридонов 1993, p. 261). Since it is mentioned in the sources that the animals cannot be fed with the barley cultivated by the Sintae and the Medae (Aristoteles, *De mirabl. auscult.*, 116; Theophrastus, *De odor.*, II, 4), it means that actually the Sintae were populating the lands between the Vardar and the Strouma and their neighbours must have been the Medae and the Bisaltae. The unusual additional inscription stamped shows that the head of Dionysus on the tetradrachmas is a head of a god, the worshipping of which was connected with the lands of the Sintae, i. e. this is a reason to think that a large cult centre of this god was situated in or near their lands. In this case, according to the information from the sources mentioned above, the Sintian cult centre of Dionysus is also in the region of the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace described by most of the ancient authors.

The information from the sources included herein, the results of some studies having already been carried out and the newest study having been carried out represent serious grounds to suppose that the main sanctuary of Dionysus was in the group of mountain spurs west of the Strouma. This mountain region is between the adjacent lands inhabited in the 5th-4th centuries B. C. by the Migdonae, the Crestonae, the Bisaltae and those of the Peonae, the Sintiae and the Medae situated to the north of the former, the sources noting that part of the Peonae included in

the territory of the Early Odrysian Kingdom after the campaigns of Sitalces. By Thrace the ancient authors and especially the authors of the Roman times meant mainly the lands from Stara Planina to the south Thracian coast. On the basis of this view of the ancient authors and pondering on the short text of Suetonius quoted above that “the holy wood of Dionysus” was “somewhere in the far off parts of Thrace” (Suetonius, *Aug.*, 94), we can establish that the thesis that the parts of today’s Rhodopes situated in the central part of Ancient Thrace should be considered as some “far off parts of Thrace” is unfounded.

After having reviewed the sources and the studies carried out (*summarized mainly in the publications of prof. Al. Fol*) and visited cult places in regions of Ancient Thrace, we have drawn the conclusion that the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace must have been a large sanctuary in rocks very different from the other cult places in Thracian lands and having existed probably as early as in the 2nd - 1st millenium B. C. We think that it is right to suppose that the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace must have represented a natural complex of primary formations, as follows:

- a mountain in some part of which there are big rocks which can be considered separately or altogether as the “holy” stones mentioned in the sources;
- large stone blocks rising over the rocks and suitable for cult rites consisting of natural high upright stones, since “at the beginning of worshipping Dionysus, holy upright stones and altars were decorated with wreath” (Φολ 1991, p. 147);
- there must have been a water spring quite near the rock designated in the information of the ancient authors as “a
- holy spring;
- there must have been a forest quite near the rocks representing, according to the information from the sources, “a holy wood”;
- due to the great general Thracian celebrations of Dionysus in the ceremonies of which were participating many pilgrims, the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace must not have represented a small isolated sanctuary but a large complex of characteristic rocks situated at the foot of a mountain adjacent to its highest part, so that the area around the sanctuary could allow all the people present at the ceremonies to participate in the celebrations;
- since the earliest cult places consisted of rocks (Φολ 1991, p. 252), cutting of platforms of different size in the rocks, steps between the platforms, making some cult facilities, shaping stones as altars, digging large reservoirs for collecting rainwater, digging large rectangular pits or chambers (determined by some research workers as “tombs” but more likely designed for sacrifices or other rites), digging channels surrounding them, excavating different recesses in upright cult rocks or other adjacent rocks, etc. could be expected as the only permissible interventions to change their original shape;
- the groups of cult places forming the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace must have represented rocks in the open without any buildings around them, i. e. they must not have been built up of shaped pieces rocks, or represent “temples” with high walls and roofs typical for later epochs;
- one (or several?) of the cult places in such a complex must have kept, until the present days, traces of the round palisade surrounding the altar as described by the sources. Such a palisade obviously must not have been very high because the people

present around the holy place should have been able to watch the flame of the wine poured on the altar which was raising over the palisade, i. e. it is expected that the holes around the altar in the rock in which palisade stakes were driven must have remained to the present times;

- it is also expected that a number of cult facilities situated one above the other must have been used for different cult rites just because of their different positions, the highest one having been intended in certain cases for the enlightened devotees of the cult or for special rites;
- The stone constructions in the area of the large cult complex at present should be considered as additional constructions of later times. In some cases, they probably were later defensive constructions built up with a view to preventing the destruction and the pillage of the cult complex in case of invasions of enemies such as the Celtic invasion in the 3rd century B. C.;
- Since such a large complex was situated high in the mountain, it must be expected that in the later epochs (and mainly after the Christianity was adopted) different fortresses with buildings for their inhabitants must have been erected in this region what would make difficult at present the categorical determination of the existing archaeological monuments as a specific early cult site.

On the basis of the information from the sources it should be expected that the great celebrations described by the ancient authors and related to the cult of Dionysus must have been taking place on a cult site in a favourable natural environment. Prophecies by pouring a holy liquid (wine according to the sources) connected with the god over the fire in the holy altar must have been told there too. The brief descriptions of the rite having reached our days allow to suppose that a special ritual holy place without any roof existed. Since the reply of the god was judged by the height of "the flame flaring up" observed by the participants in the rite, it should be supposed that the fence of the cult place was not very high, i. e. the cult place cannot be similar to the well-known big Greek temples of the 8th-5th centuries B. C. Since we have seen other cult places in rocks surrounded by holes of 15-20 cm diameter dug in the rock in a depth of about 50 cm symmetrically distributed over an area of a diameter of 10-20 m, we suppose that stakes were driven in those holes thus forming the palisade around the altar and the holy fire blazing in it. For this reason it can be expected to see in the complex of cult places forming the main sanctuary of Dionysus a platform cut on a rock different from the surrounding rocks and in addition to it steps leading to the same, recesses, etc., as well as deep holes forming a circle surrounding the holy space with the altar and the holy fire accessible only to the priests. Sacrifices in honour of the god and prophecies were told within this fenced space. Probably it is exactly this space that is mentioned by the ancient authors as the place in which "every animal brought in dies", i. e. it was sacrificed in honour of the god. One of the significant texts that reached our days which we shall quote fully now again reads, as follows: "The story goes that the hares caught in Crestonia in the land of the Bisaltae had two livers (two hearts) and that there was a place one plethron long where every animal that goes in dies. There is there a large and beautiful temple of Dionysus too, where it is said that the festivity and the sacrifice were taking place, and when the god intends to make the year fertile, a high flame appears. Everybody in the holy place can see it. When (he intends to make it infertile, no light appears. Darkness covers the place like all the other nights (Aristoteles, 842a, 122).

When we express above our views on what most probably the main sanctuary of Dionysus could have looked like, we did not have to construct a presumable complex of cult

facilities of different size and destination probably concentrated together in one place. In this case we have only described by memory a complex of cult places in rocks of different type visited by us at the foot of the highest part of a massif situated almost in the middle of a large valley surrounded by other similar spurs of mountains. At the foot of the mountain described further (which should be probably considered with good grounds as a "holy mountain" in the antiquity) there was a large spring. Its water is caught and used at present in the nearby village. The first of a number of cult places is only about several dozens of metres from the large spring that existed there. A rock 7-8 m high resembling a column rises above a large level platform. A big recess of a regular shape has been dug out in the middle of this column. A relief cult slab was placed probably in it. Two horizontal rectangular chambers of 1.5 x 0.8 x 0.8 m have been excavated in close vicinity of the high stone column ("tombs" according to some research workers, but probably just facilities for sacrifices and other cult rites). They are surrounded by channels. There are many deep holes of 15-20 cm diameter forming a circle of a diameter of about 15 m around the high rock. Another flat rock platform has been made at about 30 m from the first one. A rock rises in the middle too. There are also horizontal rectangular chambers and surrounding channels around the latter. A third platform similar to the second one is nearby. All three form a triangle. Because of the particularities of the terrain the only accessible path to climb up the mountain passes through the three cult places described and leads to the peak. So, this natural path passes by many similar but still different natural rocks around which there are flat platforms, steps, chambers, recesses, etc. Almost rectangular stone blocks of about 8x6x6 m can be seen in several places. Steps, chambers and recesses are also made around them. Climbing up and looking at the big blocks from above, we can establish that the horizontal chambers with surrounding channels have been made on the upper surface of some of them. After climbing up about half a kilometre alongside cult places similar to the ones described above, we reach the highest part of the peak which represents a rock naturally shaped (or probably artificially shaped as it looks like now) as a block larger than the described ones, its three sides hanging over a steep precipice. A large water reservoir is dug out near the accessible side of the stone block. It was half full of rainwater, when we visited it in the summer. Platforms, steps, rectangular chambers surrounded by channels, recesses, etc. were made around in different directions.

The complex of various cult facilities described which must be of Thracian origin in our opinion is on the territory of today's Republic of Macedonia in the adjacent areas described by the ancient authors as belonging to the Migdonae, the Crestonae, the Bisaltae, the Peonae, the Medae, etc. In the later epochs this mountain easy to be defended was surrounded by walls forming a stronghold in which buildings were erected for different purpose. Probably part of this large ancient cult complex was destroyed particularly after adoption of the Christianity. Nevertheless, the platforms, steps, chambers, etc. made in the rocks have remained, and in our opinion they represent serious grounds to suppose that the main sanctuary of Dionysus famous in the antiquity and described by the ancient authors was exactly in this place. We assume that large and small local sanctuaries of Dionysus were similarly created in very suitable rocky places in Ancient Thrace where the Thracians inhabiting the nearby regions were worshipping this god. It is possible to think that rites and prophesies were made in these local sanctuaries too. We draw this conclusion from the existence in some of them of deep holes for the wooden stakes forming a circle and probably surrounding the holy space in these sanctuaries and from the cult facilities made in this space in the rocks. In our opinion the sanctuaries in Tatoul and Perperikon are such local sanctuaries of Dionysus in Thrace. They were transformed in the Roman epoch into cult temples built with stones in which Dionysus continued to be celebrated.

They were included naturally later in the strongholds of the local feudal rulers during the Christian era.

We have mentioned that during the business trips we were on before 1989 connected with our main job of designing machines and automatic lines we had the possibility to visit for a short time the large cult complex described above which is supposed to be the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace. Returning to Bulgaria we acquainted research workers studying the past of the Thracian lands with our investigations. Up to that time we have not yet published any one of our studies in the field of numismatics and history of the Thracian lands. Probably for this reason and because of the unacceptable view that the main sanctuary of Dionysus must not have been in the Rhodopes, we were not even heard carefully enough. In spite of our proposal to send competent Bulgarian research workers in this region to visit this cult complex, nobody has taken an interest to carry out such a study. Since we have no financial means available to visit again the cult complex described above and to take photos of the cult places included in it with a view to presenting it in a special study, we have deferred this publication up to now. Although this information is missing, we offer this study to our readers with a view to submitting our view on how arguments related to new theses in this field should be set forth, our arguments and our conclusion drawn that the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace is not in the Eastern Rhodopes but in a massif in the lands populated by the Thracians to the west of the Strouma valley, as well as a short description of the still existing ruins of the probable large sanctuary.

We think that the persons defending lately the thesis that the main sanctuary of Dionysus in Thrace is somewhere in the region of today's Eastern Rhodopes should, before to continue to speak on this subject in the mass media, have submitted sufficient well-grounded arguments in support of their opinion in the way adopted by science and sufficient well-grounded arguments related to the unsoundness of opinions similar to the one submitted in this study about the location of the main sanctuary of Dionysus in south-west Thrace. We have no reasons at all to suppose that the majority of the Bulgarian research workers dealing with these problems would commit themselves to support the thesis of the discovery² of the main sanctuary in Thrace and more specifically in the region of the Eastern Rhodopes, thesis that is not supported by any important arguments up to now but is fabricated in every possible way as proven. The long silence on the problem of Bulgarian historians considered as leading by their researches of the past of Ancient Thrace is surprising. Are also surprising declarations in the mass media on such an important issue for the past of Ancient Thrace which are not supported with the relevant scientific publications and scientific discussions. And this issue will become a problem from now on, since steps are taken to include the main sanctuary of Dionysus "discovered" in the last few years in the list of sites of world importance or, better, it will become a problem, when the groundlessness of such an assumption presented by its discoverers as an already generally accepted scientific fact will be established.

² The cult place in the Eastern Rhodopes declared lately to be the main sanctuary of Dionysus has been studied many times by some of the most eminent Bulgarian research workers of which we shall mention prof. Ivan Venedikov. The conclusions drawn from these studies, for which arguments have been adduced, are that it represents one of the numerous Thracian sanctuaries in rocks the territory of which was used in later epochs to meet their requirements as shown by past, present and future investigations in the same. What will not be established, in our opinion, by the new archaeological investigations are certainly the proofs that the main sanctuary of Dionisus in Thrace mentioned by the ancient authors was there.

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ZONES SACRÉES – ZONES PUBLIQUES CHEZ LES GÉTO-DACES

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Mots-clés: Géo-Daces, âtres décorés, constructions de culte, zones sacrées, zones publiques.

Des nombreux articles et études apparues les derniers décennies présentent divers problèmes concernant des aspects relatifs aux pratiques culturelles dans le monde des thraces et des géto-daces. Et un nombre non petit de discussions posent la question de l'attribution d'une partie des constructions comme foyers de culte – temples. Ainsi, des constructions ayant une abside ou contenant des âtres, parfois décorés, d'autres constructions d'une forme circulaire ou rectangulaire, mais pour ce dernier cas ayant à leur intérieur des supports de colonnes – tambours – sont présentés par la plus grande partie de spécialistes comme étant des temples¹.

Le problème est beaucoup plus compliqué parce que non seulement la forme géométrique d'une construction détermine implicitement aussi son rôle social. On sait le fait qu'il y a des constructions circulaires ou à abside, forme qui apparaît depuis la fin du néolithique, et qui étaient utilisées comme étables pour les animaux².

Pour cela, lors de l'attribution d'un certain rôle à une construction on doit avoir en vue, d'une part la forme et les dimensions, la composition de l'espace intérieur, l'inventaire, mais aussi l'emplacement topographique dans le cadre de l'établissement³.

Il y a un quart de siècle (1980) Tadeusz Makiewicz et A. Prinke⁴ ont émis des possibilités théorétiques d'identification des lieux sacrés. En partant du critérium de la répétition et de la situation exceptionnelle, ainsi que Carstens Colpe⁵ en 1970, ils ont établi pour 10 sites, du lusacien jusqu'aux IX-ème – XI-ème siècles ap.J.C., la possibilité d'attribution de zones

¹ A voir entre autres : H. Daicoviciu, *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*, Cluj, 1972, p.161-162, 214; M. Cicikova, *Жертвенники эллинистической эпохи в Фракии* (Jertvelniki ellinisticeskoi epohi v Frakii), *Studia Thracica* 1, 1975, p. 180-194; T. Makiewicz, *Ornamented altars and "firebirds" from the Iron Age in Europa*, *A.A.* 24, 1976, p. 103-183; T. Makiewicz, *Concerning the origins of Thracian and Dacian altars and ritualistic firebeds*, *A.A.* 25, 1977, p. 179-187; I. Glodariu, *L'origine de la conception architectonique des sanctuaires daces circulaires*, *Thraco-Dacica* 1, 1976, p. 249-258; I. Glodariu, *Arhitectura dacilor*, Cluj-Napoca, 1983; D. Antonescu, *Introducere în arhitectura dacilor*, Bucarest, 1984; G. Trohani, *Influences hellénistiques dans la décoration des âtres géto-daces*, *Ancient Macedonia* IV, 1986, p. 661-666; V. Sirbu, *Oameni și zei în lumea geto-dacilor/Man and Gods in the Geto-Dacian World*, Braşov, 2006.

² N.M.W. de Vries, *La maison à abside en Italie et les relations balcaniques*, *Pulpudeva* III, Sofia, 1989, p. 318.

³ G. Trohani, *Centres de production – centres socio-spirituels dans le monde géto-dace de la Plaine du Danube*, *Acta Centri Historiae „Terra Antiqua Balcanica”*, Veliko Tîrnovo, 1986, I, p. 83-86.

⁴ T. Makiewicz, A. Prinke, *Theoretical possibilities of identifying a sacral place*, dans *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, 28, 1980, p. 57-90.

⁵ C. Colpe, *Theoretische Möglichkeiten zur Identifizierung von Heiligtümern und Interpretation von Opfern in ur- und prähistorischen Epochen*, dans *Vorgeschichtlichen Heiligtümer und Opferplätze in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, Göttingen, t. 74, 1970, p. 18-39.

sacrés. Nous même, ensemble avec notre regretté collègue Nicolas Conovici, nous avons émis – il y a 20 ans – quelques hypothèses dans ce sens⁶.

En partant de ces idées, mais aussi comme suite des recherches antérieures, on peut, nous l'espérons, pouvoir démontrer l'existence de constructions de culte ainsi que de certaines zones sacrées dans des établissements des géto-daces.

En ce qui concerne l'emplacement de la zone sacrée à l'intérieur d'un établissement on peut observer deux situations : 1) son emplacement dans une zone à peu près centrale ; 2) son emplacement au bord de l'établissement.

Pour le cas des établissements plus intensivement fouillés on a pu observer que dans certaines zones se trouvaient : la construction / maison pour le culte (le temple), des constructions ateliers contenant des fours de potier ou pour préparer les métaux, des fosses ou des constructions ayant un inventaire à part – des vases déposés rituellement, des ossements d'animaux sacrifiés, des enterrements rituels.

Ainsi, à Chirnogi (à 6 km NO d'Oltenița, dép. de Călărași), vers l'extrémité d'est de l'établissement géto-dace du point « Rudărie » on a découvert⁷ :

a) de la première moitié du II-e siècle av.J.C. - l'Habitation no. 20, qui avait l'âtre détruit volontairement et renversé ; l'Habitation no. 13, à l'intérieur de la quelles se trouvait le squelette d'un enfant ; la Fosse no. 20, avec des ossements d'animaux.

b) de la deuxième moitié du II-e siècle av.J.C. l'Habitation no. 14 superposée par l'Habitation no. 12, de la première moitié du I-er siècle av.J.C., d'une forme pentagonale et contenant deux âtres, des quel un de grandes dimensions et avec des vases (deux amphores, un broc, un bocal etc) tout au tour de lui. Ces deux habitations étaient destinées, probablement, au culte.

c) de la première moitié du I-er siècle av.J.C. la Fosse no. 11, probablement une habitation détruite en grande partie, contenant un four ; la Fosse no. 13, qui contenait dans le support d'une fruitière des pieds d'oiseaux enroulés dans des plaques en bronze ; l'Habitation - Atelier no. 11, avec deux fours pour fondre des métaux et un âtre ; la Fosse no. 18, contenant une très grande quantité d'ossements d'animaux ; et un Four en plein air.

La situation est d'une certaine mesure semblable à Popești⁸ (20 km ouest de Bucarest) où dans la zone centrale du sud-est de l'établissement se trouvait l'ainsi dit palais-temple qui était entouré par divers constructions contenant des fours et des âtres, beaucoup de ces derniers étant décorés. A Piscu Crăsani, sur la Ialomița, au centre de la Plaine Roumaine, dans la zone centrale se trouvait un grand âtre-autel, décoré, situation semblable à Brad⁹ (l'antique Zargidava, sur le Siret). Ici, dans ce dernier établissement, au tour d'une place centrale, pavée avec des pierres de ruisseau et qui a fonctionné un temps plus long, se trouvaient des constructions civiles et de culte de première importance : un « palais » ayant plusieurs chambres, des quelles une avec abside (de la dernière phase d'habitat), un sanctuaire avec trois phases évolutives, un four pour le pain, l'entrée dans l'acropole qui avait une liaison directe avec la place centrale, ainsi que plusieurs constructions plus riches. A Vlădiceasca l'habitation avec un âtre décoré se trouvait, de même, dans la zone centrale de l'établissement¹⁰.

⁶ N. Conovici, G. Trohani, *Sanctuare și zone sacre la geto-daci*, Revista de Istorie 2, 1988. p. 205-214.

⁷ G. Trohani, *Săpăturile arheologice efectuate la Chirnogi, jud. Ilfov, în anii 1971-1972*, CercetArh. MNIR I, 1975, p. 127-141.

⁸ R. Vulpe, *Așezări getice din Muntenia*, Bucarest. 1966.

⁹ V. Ursachi, *Sanctuarul de la Zargidava*, Magazin Istoric 3 (204), 1984. p. 60-61.

¹⁰ G. Trohani, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice efectuate în așezarea geto-dacică de la Vlădiceasca, jud. Ilfov, în anul 1973*, CercetArh MNIR I, 1975. p. 158, fig. 2.

En échange, à Căţelu Nou¹¹ (aujourd'hui à l'extrémité d'est de Bucarest), dans la partie du nord de l'établissement se trouvait, isolée des autres complexes, une hutte enfouillée avec un âtre au dehors, habitation qui avait eu une utilisation d'atelier pour un forgeron du premier niveau d'habitat, et du deuxième niveau d'habitat plusieurs âtres en plein air, des quel un, le seul rectangulaire, ayant les bords décorés avec des lignes incisées qui constituaient un cadre, ainsi qu'aussi un four de potier.

Nous désirons, de même, remettre en discussions la situation de Sarmizegetusa, la capitale de la Dacie, où la VIII-e terrasse, avec des ateliers, est située dans le tout près voisinage des IX-e – XI-e terrasses, celles avec des temples. A Pecica¹² (l'antique Ziridava, à l'extrémité d'ouest de la Roumanie) l'éventuel sanctuaire rond, plus ancien, et l'habitation temple avec une abside se trouvent aux alentours d'une habitation atelier. De même, à Ocniţa¹³ (Buridava, sur l'Olt) et Bâta Doamnei¹⁴ (en Moldavie, plus au nord de Brad) les habitations ateliers se trouvent non loin des habitation ou de complexes ayant un rôle rituel.

D'après les observations faites on a pu observer qu'en certains cas les fours et les constructions ateliers se trouvaient aux bords des établissements, fait d'ailleurs parfaitement explicable du point de vue hygiénique mais aussi pour la sécurité de la collectivité. Mais souvent, de même aux bords des établissements, et sûrement non par hasard, et toujours dans la zone respective, se trouvaient les complexes qui avaient un certain rôle cultuel. On peut ainsi parler d'une éventuelle zone sacrée pour le cas d'une partie des établissements géto-daces, zone où se trouvaient la construction pour le culte, divers complexes rituelles, les fours et les ateliers.

Et partant d'ici nous croyons qu'il ne faut pas négliger le rôle qu'accomplissaient les personnes qui travaillaient avec le feu¹⁵ – c'est-à-dire les forgerons et les potiers. Eux, comme maîtres du feu, pouvaient réaliser le passage d'un état à un autre, ils pouvaient donc changer le monde. Par la production d'outils, utilisés spécialement dans l'agriculture, mais aussi de vases céramiques dans les quels se gardaient ou on préparaient les résultats de l'agriculture, objets qui jouaient un rôle magique dans le culte de la fertilité et de la fécondité. Et les armes produites par les mêmes forgerons accompagnaient l'héros décédé dans sa tombe. Dans ce sens, celui qui produisait des pareils objets devient une des personnes importantes de la collectivité. Et le lieu où lui il travaillait, son atelier, devenait un lieu sacré qui ne doit pas être loin de la maison de rassemblement ou de la place où on apportaient des offrandes, de la construction pour le culte de la collectivité.

Par cette sommaire présentation d'idées nous espérons attirer l'attention sur la nécessité d'une recherche intégrale des établissements et de l'étude, même avec un surplus d'attention, des zones marginales qui peuvent cacher encore beaucoup de surprises.

¹¹ V. Leahu, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice efectuate în 1960 la Căţelu Nou*, Cercetări Arheologice în Bucureşti, 1963, p. 15-47; idem, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Căţelu Nou*, CAB II, 1965, p.55-67.

¹² I.H. Crişan, *Ziridava*, Arad, 1978, p. 48, 106-108.

¹³ D. Berciu, *Buridava dacică*, Bucarest, 1981.

¹⁴ N. Gostar, *Cetăţi dacice din Moldova*, Bucarest, 1969.

¹⁵ M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes*, Paris, 1956.

LE SANCTUAIRE DACE DE BRAD

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Mots-clés : Géo-Daces, constructions de culte, inventaire, zones sacrées, zones publiques.

Parmi les constructions, tout a fait spéciales, découvertes dans la forteresse Dace de Brad on peut aussi mentionner le sanctuaire rond en bois, situé à la profondeur de 1,55 m, dans les c. 1-7 des sections XXV-XXVII (Fig. 1). En même temps dans la catégorie des aménagements de culte découvertes à Brad peuvent être incluses la construction à abside, de grande dimensions, le soit nommé palais et l'habitation de surface de l'établissement ouvert, à plusieurs piliers en bois, formant une construction rectangulaire spéciale, dont nous avons déjà parlé à une autre occasion, tout comme d'un nombre considérable de fosses à clair caractère religieux.

Dans le présent discours nous allons mettre en évidence seulement le sanctuaire découvert dans la partie SV de l'acropole, celui qui de point de vue de la construction nous a révélé plusieurs phases. La première phase se présente sous la forme d'une plateforme rectangulaire de terre jaune bien battue et brûlée au rouge, ayant une marge longue de 14 m et l'autre plus courte de 8 m, dont l'orientation était SSE-VNV. Sur la marge plus courte, celle de nord-ouest, à même le bord, ont été découvertes 12 fosses des piliers (1-12), de forme ronde, très peu enfoncées dans l'amas de terre glaise, disposées en ligne, en marquant les limites d'un édifice. Leur rangement impose la conclusion selon laquelle le nombre de ces fosses était plus grand, mais les constructions ultérieures ont causé leur disparition. Il est sûr que leur fonction était celle de renfermer une espace sur une certaine marge (Fig. 2).

Sur le côté SV une autre rangée des fosses, au nombre de 19 (18-36) cette fois beaucoup plus enfoncées dans l'amas de terre glaise, en la perçant, avaient la forme ronde dont les dimensions variaient environs 0,15-0,30 m en diamètre et la profondeur de 0,20-0,70 m. Cette rangée des fosses se trouvait environs 0,75 m à l'intérieur de la plateforme de terre glaise.

Parallèlement à la rangée des fosses situées sur le côté nord-ouest, au niveau de la dernière fosse sur le côté SV ont été découvertes autre 5 fosses (13-17), disposées en rangée à la prolongation desquelles sur une distance environ 2,5 m se trouvait une poutre en bois carbonisée, suivie sur le côté NV par d'autres trois fosses (47-49) peu enfoncées, disposées, de même, en rangée tout comme une continuation du parois qui devrait exister, marqué par les deux rangées des fosses (13-17; 47-49) et la poutre carbonisée qui partageait en deux la plateforme de terre glaise. A la proximité des rangées des fosses 47-49 ont été découvertes encore deux fosses, peu enfoncées (50, 51). Le nombre des fosses sur le côté SV pouvait être plus grand, mais à cause du fait que nous n'avons pas enlevé la zone de terre glaise mélangée au gravis qui constitue le sanctuaire rond, donc la troisième phase, ceux-ci n'ont pas pu être retrouvés.

Il est très facile à observer que la rangée des fosses sur le côté SV et la troisième rangée du NV forment un angle droit. Il est difficile à préciser qu'elle était la signification de ces fosses, respectivement des piliers qui étaient enfoncés en elles, à l'intérieur de l'édifice, mais nous ne pouvons pas exclure, de manière que nous avons déjà montré, le possible compartimentation de l'intérieur. En tout cas il n'y avait aucune liaison à la résistance de la construction d'autant plus qu'ils ne se trouvaient que sur deux côtés de celle-ci. Quoi qu'il fût

leur rôle sur la rangée du SV, la rangée des fosses de l'intérieur, respectivement 13-17 et 47-49, constituait une paroi qui partageait la construction dans deux parties inégales. La partie vers le bout N de la poutre carbonisée et la fosse no. 49 ont été troublées par l'aménagement d'une alvéole, orientée SSV-NNE, qui perçait la plateforme de la terre glaise, ayant le long axe de 3,5 m et le court de 1 m, à profondeur de 0,15 m, à l'intérieur desquels on a trouvé beaucoup de cendres et de charbon en bois. Nous ne sommes pas capables à attribuer un rôle ou une signification à cet aménagement. En tout cas celle-ci a affecté, probablement, la paroi existante ou l'entrée dans la deuxième chambre de l'édifice.

En exceptant les fosses qui avaient un sort d'ordre à l'intérieur de la construction, de côté SE apparaissent encore 9 fosses (37-49), qui peuvent être mises en liaison avec une annexe de l'édifice, probablement une entrée aménagée, tandis que sur le côté NE il y avait une fosse plus large (46), qui peut être liée à la résistance de la construction, puisque à cet endroit on peut aussi observer une réduction de l'épaisseur de la paroi, marquée par la tranche de fondation.

Sur une distance environ 9,5 m, du côté NE de la construction, nous est apparu une tranche de fondation d'un mur ou d'une paroi, remplie de torchis en provenant des parois, qui diminue en largeur peu à peu, en commençant de NV vers le SE. Ses dimensions sont environ 0,70 m et 0,38 m en largeur et environ 0,50 et 0,30 m en épaisseur. Quand même, il est curieux que cette tranche de fondation se trouve seulement sur une des côtés et là seulement sur une portion.

Chronologiquement toutes ces constructions sont contemporaines, constituant la première phase de construction et d'utilisation de ce bâtiment. Toujours à cette phase appartienne la face extérieure d'une partie du torchis qui constituait la plateforme de la chambre, puisque on a pu identifier les traces des doigts qui ont étendu la terre glaise de manière radiale. L'existence de 3-4 superficies superposées montre la répétition de cette opération à plusieurs fois. Sur quelques portions de la surface de la plateforme de torchis on a découvert une grande quantité des cendres fines et des poutres carbonisées, en se remarquant un bâton en bois, très droit, dont la longueur dépassait 1 m.

La deuxième phase de construction et d'utilisation de cette zone est représentée par l'édifice à abside, qui utilise seulement une partie de la plateforme en torchis. L'abside a le point maximal de courbure sur le milieu du côté nord-ouest, là où disparaissent quelques fosses de la rangée qui la délimite, ses cimes s'appuyant sur le dernier pilier de la rangée du côté SV et la fin de la tranche de fondation du NV (**Fig. 3**).

La construction de l'abside a été réalisée, probablement, seulement en bois, selon les traces laissées dans l'amas de torchis, une alvéole de 4-5 cm ayant la largeur environ 15 cm. Le plus curieux c'est que cette construction se trouvait à l'intérieur de l'autre plus ancienne, aux parois en branches liées par de la terre. Les traces de la paroi de l'abside, en bois, sont restées jusqu'à la surface du torchis, ce qui signifie que le dernier a brûlé en même temps que la construction, en dessous des débris de celle-ci l'incendie se poursuivant sans oxygène ce qui a donné le bois carbonisé. Sur le côté SV, dans l'amas de terre glaise avec du gravier qui a servi de plateforme pour le sanctuaire rond, on observe la même tranche, sur une étendue environ 6,5 m, en continuation de la courbure absidale, qui peut être mise en liaison au paroi en bois brûlé qui a provoqué une descende de la terre dans cette zone, ultérieurement nivelée. Son déplacement vers SV pose le problème de la déformation de la construction à abside, qui aurait dans ces conditions les longues cotées asymétriques, le côté SE étant plus longue que celui absidal. Il s'agirait, probablement, d'une annexe, dont la forme est assez curieuse, dans la partie SV et surtout vers le sud, là où le torchis brûlé au rouge et un nombre de 9 fosses des piliers (1-9), appartenant à la phase à abside, justifient notre supposition.

Au coin SE de la construction il y avait une annexe, de forme rectangulaire environ 4,5 x 4 m, qui constituait, probablement, l'entrée. Selon les traces, une couche assez épaisse des cendres fines (5-7 cm) et les fosses des piliers (37-43), on peut affirmer que celle-ci était réalisée seulement en bois étant recouverte au roseau ou bois. Celle-ci a été utilisée pendant les deux phases de la construction et probablement même dans la période du sanctuaire rond, sans avoir, évidemment, la même forme. Il faut mentionner que les deux phases de construction de l'édifice constituent une étape d'utilisation, probablement pour des raisons religieuses, antérieure au sanctuaire rond et aussi que cette zone n'était autre chose que le périmètre sacré de cet établissement. En faveur de cette hypothèse viendront d'autres éléments qui ont été signalés antérieurement, comme il suit : a) l'endroit se trouve à la proximité d'une place centrale, pavé en pierre de la rivière, surprise dans les sections VIII, IX, XXIII et XXIV ; b) sur toute la surface qui commence depuis le c. 8 jusqu'au c. 21 de S I/1993-1994, sur une distance environ 28 m de longueur et environ 6-7 m en largeur, dans les deux derniers niveaux Daces, respectivement le I^{er} s. av. J. Chr. le II^e s. apr. J. Chr., il n'y avait pas d'autre habitation ou complexe¹. Il est certes que nous sommes devant une certaine organisation interne de l'établissement, du moins sur l'acropole. Cette place était délimitée par une autre grande construction à plusieurs chambres, dont une à abside découverte en S V-X, vers la partie Est², l'entrée sur l'acropole dans la partie Nord³ et cette zone sacrée dans la partie Ouest. Sous les débris du torchis, mêlée à ceux-ci a été découverte une grande quantité des tessons et d'autre objets, que nous allons présenter en ce qui suit :

- céramique travaillée à la main en pâte fine vernie à l'extérieur, on a découvert 82 fragments en provenant de 3 jarres, une coupe à décor en relief à l'intérieur et une fruitière grise ; 2 fruitiers, un jarre et un petit plat, noirs, vernis ; 2 fruitiers et 2 jarres rougeâtres ;
- céramique poreuse, grossière, à différents ingrédients, 250 fragments en provenant de - 24 jarres, 4 cassolettes, un fragment de céramique à décor en relief, probablement d'un âtre portatif, des fragments de croûte d'âtre. Le décor est réalisé par les motifs suivants : des boutons ronds simples ou à 3-4 alvéoles ; des boutons combinés à raie alvéolé ; goulottes, raie alvéolé ;
- céramique travaillée à la roue représentée par 50 fragments de 5 fruitières, 5 brocs, un kantharos et une passoire en pâte fine grisâtre, une cana, un kantharos et une fruitière Dace peinte, une fruitière, un jarre et une amphore rouge d'importation.

Sur la même surface on a aussi découvert des oses d'animaux, quelques uns brûlés, charbon en bois, cendres, 5 fragments des pierres plates aux traces de brûlure, une fusaïole à décor et un objet de céramique à début de trou.

Des constructions à abside ont été découvertes dans plusieurs établissements des Daces. Même dans l'établissement de Brad, toujours sur l'acropole, pendant plusieurs campagnes de fouilles a été retrouvée une maison à abside, ayant plusieurs chambres, chacune d'elles pourvue d'un âtre au milieu⁴.

À Popești, une construction de grandes dimensions (11/7,5 m) avait un coté à abside dans la partie NNV et présentait à l'intérieur des âtres ornementaux⁵.

¹ Ursachi, V., *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*, București, 1995, p. 12, fig. 2.

² Idem, *Cercetări arheologice efectuate de Muzeul de Istorie din Roman*, Carpica I, 1968, p. 171-184.

³ Idem, *Zargidava*, p. 99-111.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 51-53, fig. 18.

⁵ Vulpe, R. *Așezări dacice din Muntenia*, București, 1966, p. 32-33; MCA VI, 1957, p. 308-309; MCA VII, 1960, p. 327-328.

À Piatra-Roșie il y avait une construction à abside, qui n'est autre chose qu'une simple habitation sans fonction religieuse⁶. De même, à Pecica-Arad, près du sanctuaire rond il y avait une construction à abside, orientée NNV-SSE, ayant un âtre à l'intérieur et des parois ornementés. Toujours à son intérieur on a aussi trouvé un fragment d'un âtre portatif⁷.

L'enceinte absidale du milieu du sanctuaire calendrier de Sarmizegetusa puisse aussi être mentionnée, mais seulement en tant qu'analogie concernant cette forme utilisée aux sanctuaires de la zone sacrée⁸.

À Bucarest – Lacul Tei et Cetățeni⁹ – deux autres constructions à abside complètent le tableau concernant l'existence des certaines édifices aux fonctions religieuses ou aux éléments tout à fait spéciaux, qui pourraient servir aux activités liées à la religion.

En tout cas, les éléments communs, tels l'orientation vers NNV des absides, l'existence des âtres ornementés, des parois aussi ornementés, des restes des âtres mobiles, tout comme la position à l'intérieur des établissements, nous donnent la possibilité d'admettre qu'il s'agirait des vraies sanctuaires. En tenant compte de la situation de Brad, ces sanctuaires pourraient constituer une étape plus ancienne dans les constructions religieuses, qui précédaient les sanctuaires ronds aux piliers en bois. Par le même raisonnement l'existence des certains sanctuaires rectangulaires aux tambours en bois pourront aussi constituer une étape intermédiaire des deux types de sanctuaire ou même une phase antérieure à ceux-ci. La datation précise constitue l'élément essentiel à la solution du problème de leur évolution constructive. Si la disposition sur des rangées du groupe des piliers de l'édifice à abside de Brad peut être mise en liaison aux sanctuaires rectangulaires en bois, tels celui de Barboși¹⁰, alors nous pouvons admettre qu'ils représentent la première étape dans l'évolution des sanctuaires Daces des établissements de type dava.

La dernière construction de culte de cette zone qui désigne la troisième phase du sanctuaire est représentée par le sanctuaire rond, qui se constitue dans une plateforme de torchis, restée d'une construction antérieure, détruite par le feu, nivelée par les constructeurs de la nouvelle construction et retouchée dans les endroits où le torchis avait disparu, afin d'arriver à une forme ronde, à l'aide d'une couche d'argile jaune et du gravier, soit par de la terre noire cendreuse de nivellement, bien tassée, en formant la plateforme. Celle la recouverte presque sur toute sa superficie d'une croûte blanche calcaire était entourée d'une rangée des piliers (colonnes) en bois dont les fosses se trouvaient environs 10-15 cm plus bas. Cette différence était donnée par le niveau du passage et l'épaisseur de la couche du torchis (Fig. 4).

Les piliers en bois, de forme ronde, étaient disposés aux distances inégales, pour s'enfoncer environs 0,65 – 0,70 m en dessous le niveau de passage. Les fosses, faciles à suivre, en raison de leur remplissage par de la terre cendreuse et des restes du bois pourri ou brûlé des piliers, avaient la forme cylindrique dont le diamètre variait entre 0,25-0,40 m. Quelques unes, telles la fosse no. 29, avaient le fond élargit, en forme de cloche.

Les quelques grandes fosses, nos. 16, 23, 31, 33, font d'autant plus exception, non seulement en raison d'avoir des piliers plus gros, mais, probablement, parce qu'ils ont été changés à plusieurs fois, d'où l'élargissement de la fosse. En tout cas il faut considérer qu'au

⁶ Daicoviciu, C., *Cetea dacică de la Piatra Roșie*, București, 1954, p. 50-55, fig. 17-20.

⁷ Crișan, H. I., *Ziridava*, Arad, 1978, p. 106-108; Idem, *Acta MN* 3, 1966, p. 92.

⁸ Daicoviciu, C. *et alii*, *SCIV* 3, 1952, p. 283-287; Daicoviciu, H., *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*, Cluj, 1972, p. 235-262.

⁹ Rosetti, V.D., *Câteva așezări și locuințe preistorice din preajma Bucureștilor*, București, 1932, p. 12, fig. 23; Vulpe, R., *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁰ Gostar, N., *Cetățile dacice din Moldova*, București, 1969, p. 18-19.

mois à la surface du sol les piliers avaient la même dimension ou des dimensions proches, tout comme on peut observer sur la grande majorité des fosses. Il n'est pas exclu que les fosses des certains piliers soient plus larges en raison du fait qu'on devrait imposer l'assurance d'une distance à peu près égale entre ceux-ci, ce qui permettait leur plus facile déplacement.

La distance entre les piliers est généralement environ 0,75 – 1 m, mais ils ne nous manquent pas les situations où il s'agit des différences plus grandes, telles celles entre les piliers nos. 4 et 5 (environ 1,40 m), nos. 11 et 12 (environ 1,25 m) ou nos. 26 et 27 (environ 1,15 m). Nous ne connaissons pas la valeur constructive ou la signification de ces différences, mais nous sommes d'avis qu'aux constructions de ces proportions elles n'étaient pas très dissonantes, afin de diminuer la valeur de l'édifice ou même d'être observées plus facilement. Puisque dans le rapport préliminaire des fouilles de l'année 1982 les différences que nous avons signalés étaient mises sur le compte des recherches pas encore achevées, à présent toutes les données font le résultat de la recherche exhaustive de la zone du complexe respectif. Ainsi disant ces différences existaient dans la construction du sanctuaire.

Il est à mentionner que plusieurs des fosses des piliers nos. 7, 15, 28, 32 se trouvent environ 0,15 – 0,50 m vers l'intérieur de la construction et les fosses nos. 10 et 36 environ 0,15 voir 0,30 m vers son extérieur, à des distances très courtes face à la rangée des fosses du sanctuaire. En même temps, trois fosses nos. 47, 48, 49, appartenant à ce niveau de la construction, sont disposées beaucoup vers son intérieur dans la zone de NE. Si pour les positions des fosses nos. 28, 30 et 36 nous pouvons supposer une nécessité liée à l'existence des certaines fosses des vivres ou de culte dans l'immédiate proximité, soit qu'elles étaient utilisées à l'époque, soit que la terre affinée de leur remplissage ne favorisait la stabilité du pilier, pour les piliers nos. 10 et 15 nous n'avons pas une explication plausible de leur retraite dans la zone fonctionnelle du sanctuaire ou vers son extérieur. La situation est la même pour les deux fosses plus grandes et celle plus petite nos. 47, 48, 49, de l'intérieur du sanctuaire.

D'après leur position, les fosses nos. 1-39, tout comme les sept (nos. 40-46) que nous supposons avoir existé, sans être marquées sur les plans des fouilles de la tranche no. I, fouillée pendant les années 1963 et 1964, inscrit un cercle de 16 m en diamètre. En exceptant l'amas de torchis, les portions de gravier à l'argile jaune et terre bien battue formant le sol de tout l'édifice, de forme ronde, à l'intérieur du cercle inscrit par les fosses des piliers, on n'a pas découvert d'autre construction. Concernant les trois fosses de l'intérieur, nos. 47, 48, 49, à l'instant il n'y pas d'explication satisfaisante. Les dimensions des fosses supposent l'existence des piliers assez larges pour soutenir le toit. L'épaisseur environ 0,65 – 0,70 m en était suffisante. En ce qui concerne l'existence d'un toit il ne faut pas négliger ni la présence d'une mince croûte blanche située au dessus du torchis, qui pourrait provenir de l'incinération de la échandole ou bien du roseau, en combinaison avec l'eau des infiltrations. Par ailleurs, au dessus du torchis on a trouvé une grande quantité de charbon en bois et des cendres fines, qui pourrait appartenir à une construction en bois située au dessus de l'amas de torchis.

Sur toute la superficie du sanctuaire, à l'épaisseur de 1,30 – 1,50 m ont été découvertes des fragments céramiques en provenant de 3 coupes Daces, 20 vases sac, desquels trois grands, de la catégorie de la céramique travaillée à la main en pâte grossière, deux fruitières, un vas pot, une grande coupe en pâte noire polie et une fruitière rougeâtre polie. De la catégorie de la céramique travaillée au roue il y a des fragments en provenant de deux fruitières, quatre coupes, un vas à corps bombe et la lèvres tirée vers l'intérieur, un couvercle, deux plats de couleur grisâtre, un kantharos Dace peint et un autre d'importation. Tous ces types des vases appartiennent à la période classique de la culture Dace,

en se ressemblant à ceux découverts dans la grande majorité des établissements Daces du I^{er} s. av. J. Chr. – I^{er} s. apr. J. Chr.¹¹.

L'amas de torchis brûlé avec la couche d'argile jaune au gravier qui faisaient partie de la construction du sanctuaire rond a été percée, du côté est, par un dérangement d'âge moderne, sur une superficie plus grande, en même temps que par les fosses nos. 11 et 12, qui appartiennent elles aussi aux niveaux supérieurs, en détruisant les tombes médiévales qui se trouvaient dans la zone. Pour le reste, sur toute la superficie mentionnée, il n'a pas eu de construction ultérieure à la destruction du sanctuaire, à l'exception d'une couche très épaisse d'argile, située environ 0,35 – 0,40 m au dessus de la couche de torchis. Les dérangements d'âge médiévaux et celle d'âge moderne ne nous ont pas permis d'observer si toute la zone a été nivelée par cette couche d'argile, qui aurait supposé l'existence d'un autre lieu de culte, ce qui n'est pas du tout exclus. Nous mentionnons pourtant la découverte de deux âtres situés dans la partie ouest de l'espace circonscrit par les piliers, à l'épaisseur de 1,25 m, qui aurait supposé un changement de destination de cette superficie dans les dernières phases d'habitation par les Daces.

Suite à la présentation que nous venons de réaliser on observe qu'il s'agit d'une construction spéciale, tout à fait différente du reste des édifices découverts jusqu'à présent dans cette grande station archéologique, de forme ronde, entourée des piliers en bois, qui soutenaient probablement une toit et servait d'office pour certains rituels religieux de la population Dace¹².

De tels édifices ont été aussi retrouvés sur l'aire de la culture Dace, mais leur nombre est assez réduit. Des cinq sanctuaires ronds découverts jusqu'à présent dans différentes zones, auxquels nous rajoutons celui-ci, aucun n'est identique l'un à l'autre. Ainsi, à Sarmizegetusa, dans la zone sacrée, ont été découverts deux sanctuaires ronds, différents à celui de Brad par les piliers en pierre disposés selon un certain ordre, tout comme par d'autres éléments spécifiques¹³. Le grand sanctuaire a 30 m en diamètre, donc beaucoup plus grand et il présente à l'intérieur d'autres constructions en pierre et en bois et un foyer¹⁴.

Beaucoup plus rapprochée est la situation du petit sanctuaire rond ayant 12,5 m en diamètre, sans avoir d'autres constructions à l'intérieur, dont les piliers en pierre étaient disposés dans une ordre certaine¹⁵. Ces deux sanctuaires ont été mis en liaison au calendrier Dace et ils ont reçu le nom de sanctuaire calendrier¹⁶ du à la disposition de leurs piliers et de leurs constructions intérieures.

Toujours dans la zone des montagnes nommées Orăştie, à Feţele Albe, sur la troisième terrasse de Şeşului cu brânză a été découvert un sanctuaire rond aux piliers en calcaire, dont la disposition, en dépit du mauvais état de préservation n'a pas pu être établie. Le sanctuaire a un diamètre de 10,80 m, donc très proche de celui de Brad. Au milieu il y a une agglomération des pierres et dans la moitié sud de la zone circonscrite une fosse profonde remplie au torchis brûlé¹⁷.

¹¹ Toute la bibliographie de Crişan, H. I., *Ceramica daco-getică*, Bucureşti, 1969, p. 233-248.

¹² Aucun des sanctuaires ronds étudiés jusqu'à présent n'a pas fourni aux chercheurs la preuve de l'existence des traces du toit. Pourtant les discussions continuent, étant donné que les traces de celui ci ne peuvent pas constituer des dépôts trop épais, par ce que il s'agit des cendres fines ou du charbon en bois, qui se retrouvent a tous les sanctuaires, qui ont finit d'exister, dans la plupart des cas par des incendies. Un essai de reconstitution de ceux ci, pourvus du toit, a été réalisé par l'architecte Dinu Antonescu, *Arhitectura* 2-3, 1977, p. 90-93; Idem, *Arhitectura* 3, 1978, p. 53-57; Idem, *Thraco-Dacica* 2, 1981, p. 209-212, fig. 1.

¹³ *Supra* 8.

¹⁴ Daicoviciu, C., Gostar, N., Daicoviciu, H., *MCA* VI, 1959, p. 336-337, fig. 6.

¹⁵ Daicoviciu, H., *op. cit.*, Buc., 1972, p. 261, fig. XXXII.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 235-260.

¹⁷ Daicoviciu, H., *Un sanctuar circular dacic la Feţele Albe*, *Apulum* IX, 1971, p. 257-262.

Les deux derniers sanctuaires ronds découverts à Pecica-Arad et Dolinean, rayon de Hotin, région de Cernăuți, ont le plus grand nombre d'éléments communs à notre découverte.

Même s'il a seulement 6-7 m en diamètre, le sanctuaire rond de Pecica-Arad se ressemble à celui de Brad en raison de sa plateforme en argile bien battue, entourée par des piliers en bois et par ce qu'il est situé dans la même zone à l'intérieur de l'établissement, c'est-à-dire dans la partie NV de l'acropole¹⁸. Par comparaison à la situation de Brad, dans ce cas il s'agit d'un âtre entouré des pierres au centre de l'édifice, les piliers sont soutenus par des pierres et ils sont disposés dans un certain ordre, six ronds et un carré, situation qui n'a pas été rencontrée à Brad. Tenant compte du fait qu' à Pecica –Arad et à Brad on a découvert des fragments en provenant des âtres portatives, le manque de ceux fixes des uns des sanctuaires ne constitue pas un élément pour montrer une différence de fonction des ces édifices.

À Dolinean a été recherché un sanctuaire rond, à plateforme en argile jaune entourée par 36 piliers en bois¹⁹. Ici même on a découvert au milieu une fosse et un pavage en pierre qui entourait le sanctuaire et qui était recouvert par l'auvent de l'édifice. Le diamètre de cet ensemble est de 14 m et certains des piliers sont renforcés par des pierres. Donc, les dimensions tout comme le système de construction, à quelques petites différences, sont identiques à ceux de Brad.

Nous observons donc l'existence dans des divers établissements Daces des certains édifices dont on peut supposer leur fonctionnement en tant que sanctuaire, d'après certains éléments caractéristiques à ce type de construction, ce qui les approche de ceux découverts dans le centre religieux de Sarmizegetusa. Les différences entre eux peuvent être mises en liaison à la diversification des rituels dans des zones différentes de la même culture.

L'utilisation du bois au lieu de la pierre s'imposait là où celui-ci représentait le principal matériel de construction. Par ailleurs, les recherches ont montré que le remplacement de la pierre par le bois ne se produise seulement au cas des constructions religieuses, mais aussi pour les fortifications et la construction des maisons²⁰. Son abondance dans certaines zones, tel le cas des trois établissements aux sanctuaires en bois mentionnés plus haut, tout comme son usinage, beaucoup plus facile que celui de la pierre l'imposait devant les autres matériels de construction.

Les dimensions des ces sanctuaires variaient selon l'endroit où ils étaient construits et probablement selon le nombre de ceux qui l'utilisaient de telle manière que ni la dimension ni le nombre des piliers ne représentait un élément obligatoire qui ait des significations religieuses, mais seulement leur disposition. On ne peut pas dire la même chose sur les sanctuaires ronds en pierre de Sarmizegetusa, là où, même s'ils ne sont pas identiques, ils peuvent avoir des significations tout à fait à part, imposées par l'ordre strict dans la disposition des piliers, d'autant plus au cas du grand sanctuaire, liés au calendrier²¹.

En tout cas, étant donné que ce type des constructions est très rare, par rapport à des centaines des habitations découvertes jusqu'à présent dans l'aire de la culture Dace, leur attribution à des pratiques religieuses est imposée par la nature des éléments constructifs, qui les approche de ce qu'on appelle un sanctuaire. L'existence des certains centres religieux plus grands n'exclut pas la possibilité de la pratique des rituels ordinaires, même quotidiens, dans chaque établissement. Ceux-ci se déroulaient dans des endroits spéciaux que nous découvrons

¹⁸ Crișan, H. I., *Sanctuarul dacic de la Pecica*, ActaMN, 1966, p. 92-95, fig. 1-2.

¹⁹ Smirnova, I. G., *Sanctuarul de lângă satul Dolinean din regiunea Nistrului Mijlociu*, SCIVA 27, 3, 1976, p. 309-317, fig. 1, 3.

²⁰ Ursachi, V., MCA Tulcea, 1980, p. 178-181.

²¹ Daicoviciu, H., *Il tempo calendarie dacico di Sarmizegetusa*, Dacia, NS. IV, 1960, p. 231-254; Idem, *Nouvelles données concernant le sanctuaire calendrier dace*, Dacia, NS. IX, 1965, p. 283-287.

aujourd'hui dans plusieurs établissements. Etant donné la difficulté de retrouver les traces des ces édifices et leur préservation dans les conditions où des actions ultérieures dans la zone de la construction ont effacé les principaux vestiges, on justifie le nombre encore réduit de tels sanctuaires découverts jusqu'à présent et presque impossible, selon notre avis, à surprendre dans les établissements plus étendus, là où leur traces sont d'autant moins consistantes.

Après la présentation des principaux complexes d'habitation des deux secteurs de l'établissement Dace de Brad, il ne nous reste qu'à signaler, surtout pour l'acropole, un certain soin pour la disposition des constructions civiles ou publiques. Sans disposer des données nécessaires pour le reste de l'acropole, la zone dominée par la place centrale, pavé à pierre de la rivière, une véritable agora, montre une tendance de systématisation architectonique basée sur l'inclusion à l'intérieur de cet espace des édifices à caractère public tels la grande maison à abside, le sanctuaire rond et les deux phases antérieures desquelles l'une à abside, l'entrée au dessus la tranche de défense de la zone ouverte de l'établissement et probablement d'autres maisons de l'aristocratie locale, ayant le droit d'habitation dans cette zone importante de l'établissement de laquelle ne manquait pas celle religieuse. L'existence du sanctuaire et des quelques fosses à caractère de culte, liées probablement à celui-ci, constituaient une vraie zone sacrée, là où on officiait, probablement, toutes les cérémonies religieuses de la zone à population dense, qui gravitait autour ce grande établissement.

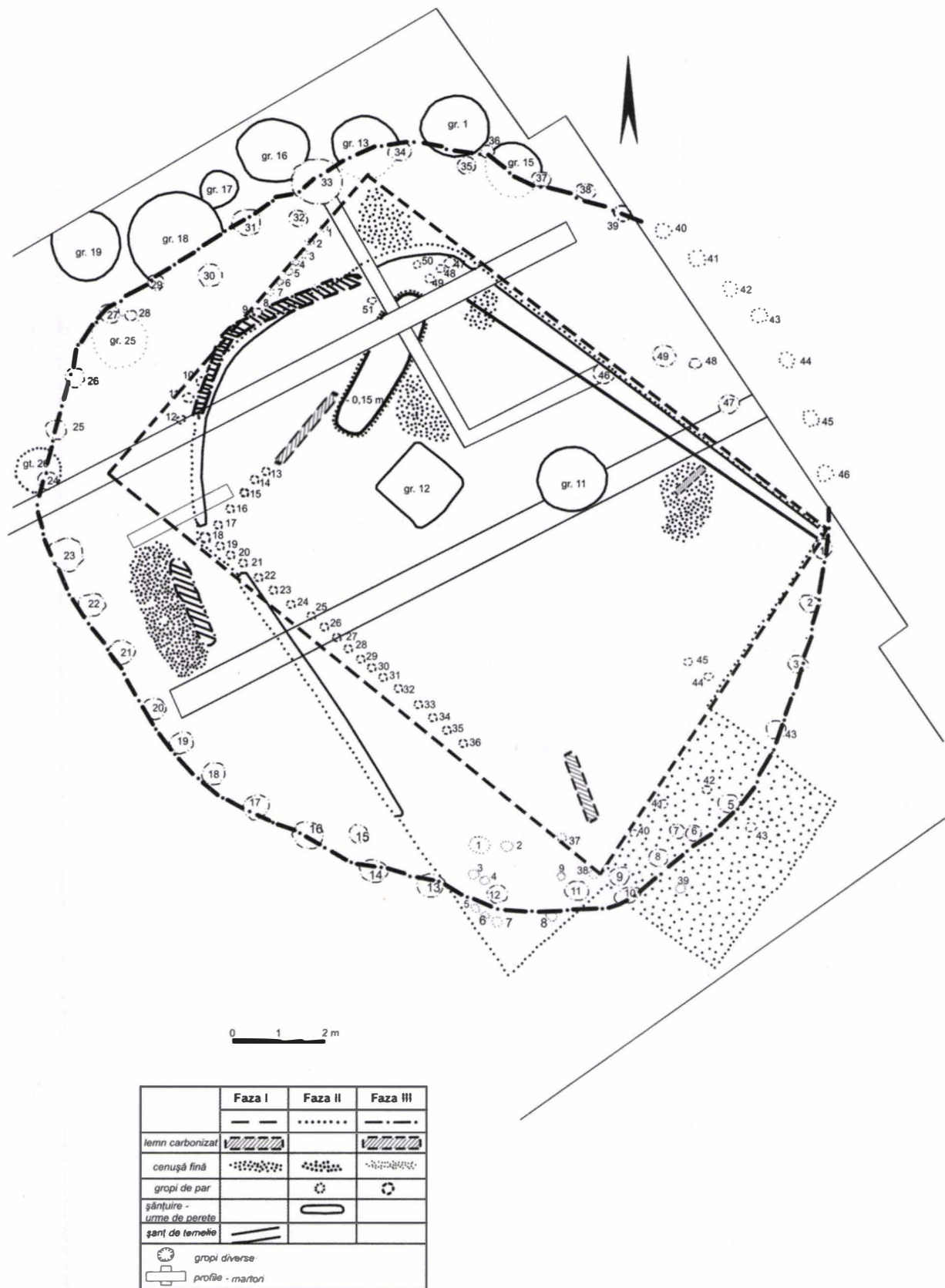


Fig. 1. Sanctuaire de Brad. Plan du sanctuaire rond.

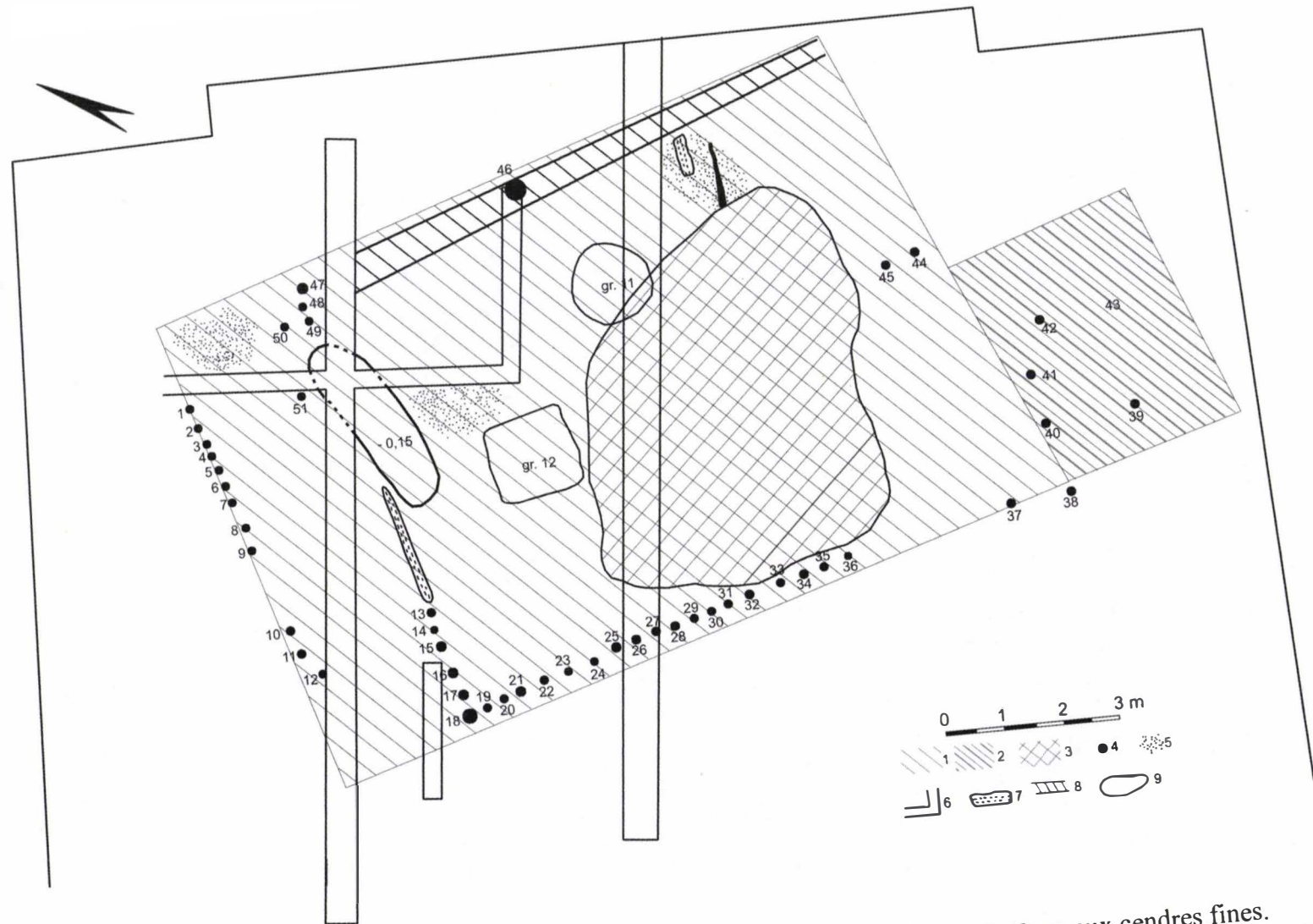


Fig. 2. Sanctuaire de Brad - Première phase du sanctuaire rond. 1. Zone avec de la terre glaise. 2. Zone aux cendres fines. 3. Dérangement modern. 4. Fosse des piliers. 5. Cendres. 6. Coupes sauvées. 7. Poutres carbonisées. 8. Tranchée de fondation. 9. Alvéoles.

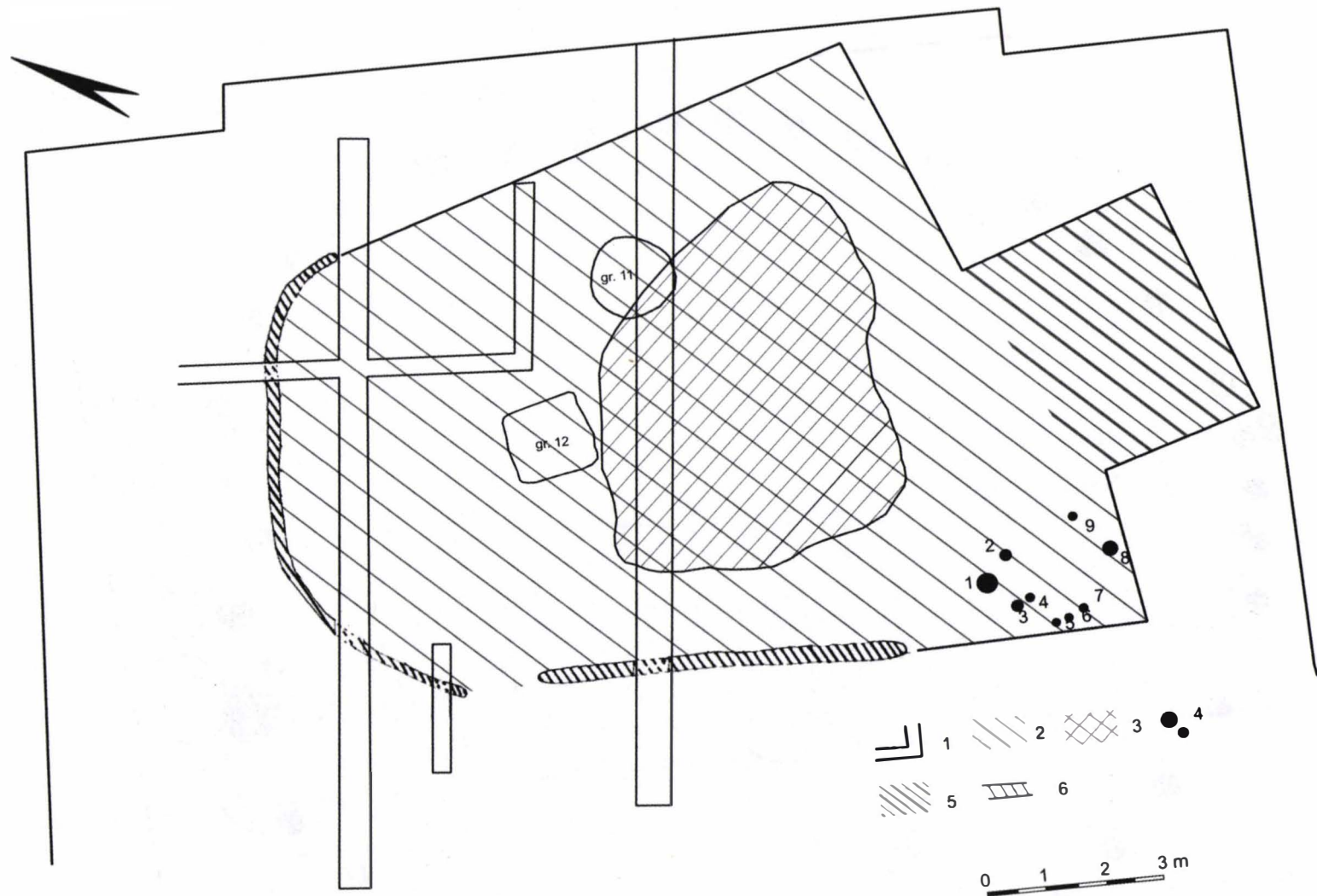


Fig. 3. Sanctuaire de Brad - Deuxième phase du sanctuaire rond. 1. Coupes sauvées. 2. Zone avec de la terre glaise polie. 3. Tranchées des murs. 4. Traces des piliers. 5. Zone aux cendres fines. 6. Tranchées des murs.

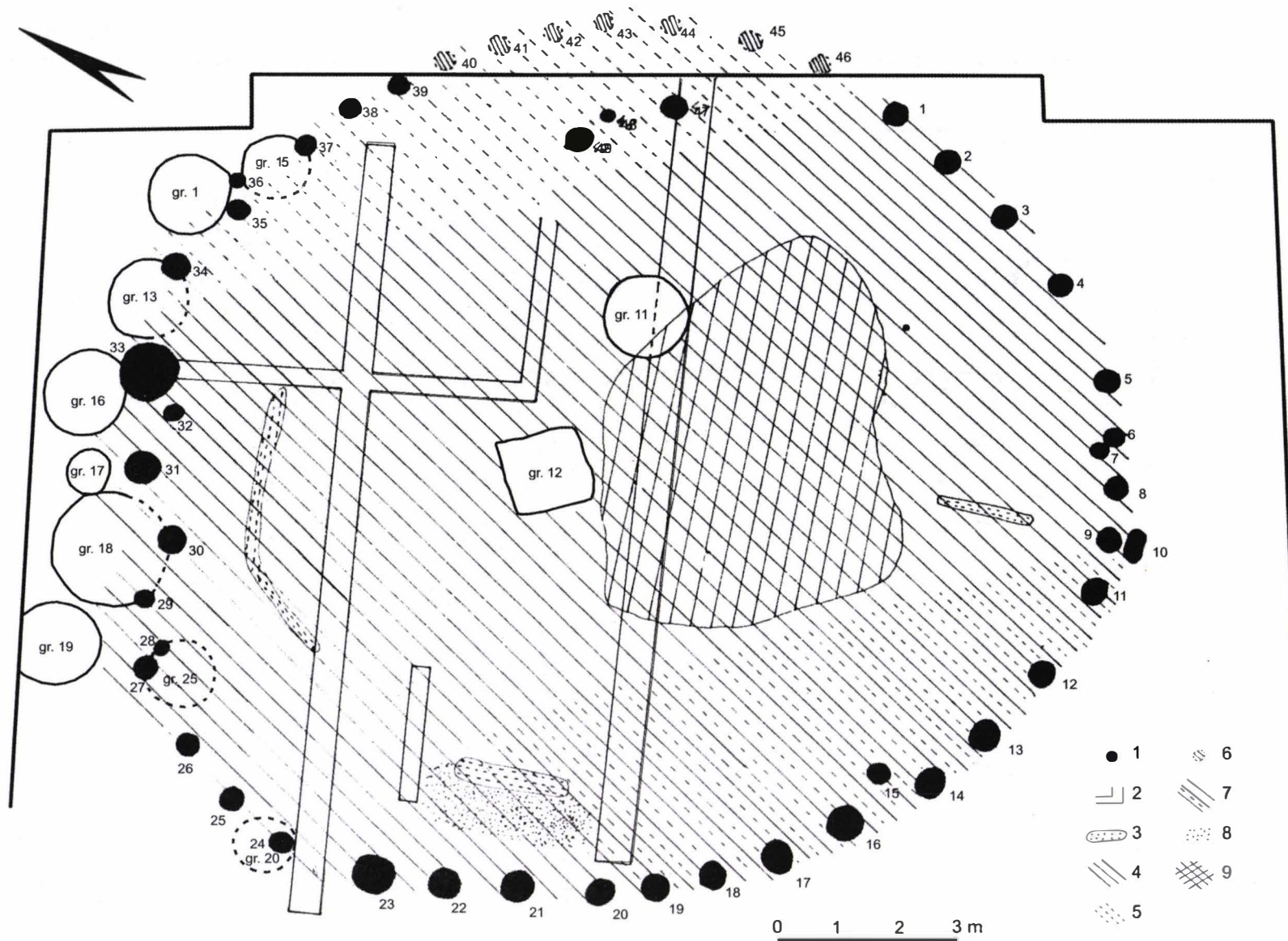


Fig. 4. Sanctuaire de Brad - Deuxième phase du sanctuaire rond. 1. Coupes sauvées. 2. Zone avec de la terre glaise polie. 3. Dérangements ultérieurs. 4. Traces des piliers. 5. Zone aux cendres fines. 6. Tranchées des murs.

THE THRACIAN PIT COMPLEX IN ROUSSE (EXCAVATIONS IN 2006)

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Key-words : Thracians pits sanctuaries, Dacians, inventory, rituals.

In 2005, in the course of rescue archaeological excavations within the territory of the Roman fort Sexaginta Prista, cultural levels dating from the Hellenistic period to modern times were registered (Върбанов, Драгоев, Иванов 2006, p. 193-196). In 2006 an area of about 75 square metres was additionally excavated, which made it possible to specify the dating of some of those levels. Structures from the 2nd-3rd century were found above the level from the Hellenistic period. One of them has been identified with a temple of Apollo. It is partially overlapped by another big building – the *principia* of Sexaginta Prista. The remains of the *principia* were found covered with a thick layer from the 19th-20th century, which had destroyed the chronological levels after the 5th century. Nine new pits and a masonry tunnel from the second half of the 19th century were discovered (**Fig. 1**).

The earliest level contained more than 30 pits with materials from the late-3rd century BC until the 1st century AD (Varbanov, Dragoev, in print). The newly excavated 9 Thracian pits and two other structures belong to the same level (**Fig. 2**). They are traced in depth with difficulty, because their filling does not differ from the surrounding soil by colour. Only their lowest, dug in the loess part is clearly seen. The loess lies at a depth of 4,10-4,30 m from the modern terrain (34,00-34,20 m above sea-level). The pits and structures which were excavated in 2006 are deep from 1,00 to 2,00 m. Their diameter varies from 0,90 to 2,30 m, but is most often about 1,50 m. The shape usually resembles a beehive, hemisphere or frustum of a cone (**Fig. 3**). Pits 31 and 33 are rectangular and trapezium-shaped in cross-section (fig. 2). Some of the pits are almost entirely destroyed by later diggings-in (pits 37 and 39). The rest of them are only partially excavated (from one-fifth part to a half), because of either their being overlapped by later structures or their destruction by other pits.

The filling of the pits is similar to the one registered during the previous archaeological campaign. Except for earth, charcoals and ashes, it also contains about 200 pieces of clay plastering, 100 sherds of *pithoi*, stones, flints, bones, spindle-whirls, whetstones, a millstone, fragmented bronze items and some 2200 pottery sherds (1214 from vessels made by hand and 987 from vessels made by means of a potter's wheel). The concentration of finds varies: it is smaller in the upper part of the pits and much greater from the bottom to a height of about one metre. Judging by the fragments from one and the same vessel in their lower and upper parts, each of the pits seems to have been filled in at a single time. Most of the pits are synchronous. The finding of homogeneous pottery as well as parts of a particular vessel in different areas proves that. Probably from the ruined pits into the squares I 2 and I' 3 belong the discovered in the leveling layer (from 3rd century AD) fibula (**Fig. 17**- dating from the first half of I c AD see Garbsch 1985, p. 565-566) and two coins: denar-serratus from Q. Antonius Balbus and imitation of Alexander The Great (picture 1 and 2 see Sydenham 1952, 742a).

The ceramic complex consists of vessels made by hand as well as by means of a potter's wheel. The hand-made pottery is rough and fine. The first group includes *pithoi*, pot with and without band and incised decoration, cups of the so-called "ceașca dacica" type as well as vessels with widely open mouth. Their colour usually varies within the range of ochre to brown, more rarely brick-red. The vessels of the group sometimes reveal traces of secondary burning – most often on the bottom of pots and "ceașca dacica" cups. The traces of burning on the edges of sherds prove that the vessels were placed in fire after their ritual breaking.

The other part of hand-made pottery is with burnished surface on the inside and outside – 312 sherds of bowls, fruit dishes and jugs. These vessels are brown and grey to black in colour.

The pottery made by means of a fast potter's wheel includes sherds of fruit dishes, bowls, jugs, pots, cups, amphorae and *pithoi*. A great part of the vessels are grey in colour, but brown- and brick-red-coloured ones are also met. Sherds of a *pithos* with incised linear and wavy decoration have been found. There are many fragments (449 pieces) of amphorae, which are yellow, ochre and brick-red in colour. Some of them are yellow-varnished on the outside. Two stamped handles were found in structure 33. Five sherds of imitative Megarian cups were found in pits 33b, 34, 35, 38 and structure 31. They date from the second half of the 2nd – 1st century BC (Vulpe, Gheorghiță 1976, p.169). Imported pottery (small fragments of thin-walled red-varnished ceramics and a sherd of a black-glazed vessels) was found in pit 32 and structures 31 and 33. The presence of fine pottery with brick-red to ochre colour and white-painted decoration is also worth noting.

In 2006 the dating of the excavated part of the pit complex was specified. The pottery, coins and other materials from the pits date to the period from the late-3rd century BC to the 1st century AD, but offering of older materials was a common practice at sites of the kind (Вълчева 2002, 115). Sherds of wheel-made pottery with grey colour and decoration of burnished stripes have been found in almost all of the pits. Since this kind of pottery is mostly characteristic of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD (Вагалински 2002, p. 24; Кабакчиева 2005, p. 96-97), *that is the dating of the excavated pits*. The coins from the early-1st century AD in the central pits 3 and 30 and the fibula from the second half of the 1st century AD in pit 32 support the argued dating. Future excavations in the adjacent areas on the hill will answer the question whether there were earlier or later pits.

The cult function of the complex already was proved during the first archaeological campaign in 2005. The excavations in 2006 brought about strong additional evidence of that – intact or fragmented vessels without utilitarian function. The part of a fruit dish from structure 33 merits a special attention. It contained unidentified organic material and a bone and was placed upwards with its bottom directly on the black earth. Small charcoals and pieces of charred timber were found beneath it. The offered vessels are remains of unknown to us ritual, in which fire and pouring of liquids played a significant role.

So far no remains of dwellings have been found at the supposed Thracian walking level (at a depth of 1,10-1,40 m from the 0,00-mark for the site = 36, 50 m above sea-level). Synchronous pottery sherds and other archaeological materials are rarely found outside the pits. Judging by similar sites in Romania, future discovery of dwellings or other settlement-life structures might well be expected (13 dwellings and 123 pits in Bordușani; 38 dwellings and 201 pits in Grădiștea) (Trohani 2006, p. 108; Sîrbu 1996, p. 114).

The complex most probably stopped functioning in the last third part of the 1st century AD, at the time of the Roman settling on the hill.

The pits and structures are numbered according to the sequence of their excavation.

Structure 31. Its size and shape are not entirely specified. The excavated part of the structure is situated in working squares I 1 and I' 1 (**Fig. 2**). It is rectangular by plan, with north-east/south-west orientation. Its bottom lies at a depth of 2,75 m from the 0,00-mark for the site and has dimensions of 1,20 by 0,40 m. The structure (a ditch?) probably connected pit 32 with the central pit 3. It cuts across pit 32, but is some 0,20 m shallower than it. The walls of the ditch are not parallel to each other – the ditch widens from the bottom upwards. The upper part of the structure was probably disrupted during the construction of the Apollo temple (the Thracian materials lay at a depth of 1,40-1,50 m from the 0,00-mark for the site). Spots of burnt clay were registered at a depth of 1,90-2,00 m. The filling does not differ from the surrounding earth. Sherds of a *pithos* (*pithoi*?), pottery, stones, flints and bones were found in the upper part of the structure.

The *pithoi* sherds were 17 in number (**Fig. 4. 02**). Their concentration was higher at a depth of 1,60-2,00 m. There were stones (6 pieces) and flints (7 pieces) only at the bottom. Bigger stones lay at a depth of 1,70-1,90 m. Twelve pieces of clay plastering from walls and hearths and 9 pieces of burnt earth flour were also found in the structure. The latter lay at its bottom. A flat clay spindle-whirl and a piece of an imitative Megarian cup were found at a depth of 1,90 m (**Fig. 4. 08, 10**). There were pottery sherds everywhere in the structure. The relation between hand-made and wheel-made pottery is approximately 3:1. There are 136 sherds of hand-made pottery, 77 of them being pieces of bowls and fruit dishes with burnished surface on both sides (**Fig. 4. 03**). They are ochre-brown to grey-black in colour. One of the sherds was additionally shaped as a token, 4,4 cm in diameter (**Fig. 4. 09**). The rest 59 sherds are of ochre-coloured pots with rough surface (**Fig. 4. 05, 07**). Some of them bear band decoration. There are 23 ochre-coloured amphora fragments with yellow outer surface. The sherds of pottery made by means of a fast potter's wheel (24 pieces) are grey in colour and belong mostly to bowls and to one sifter (fig. 4. 01, 04, 06). One of them is black-glazed, and another one – white-painted.

Pit 32. Pit 32 is situated in working squares I' 1 and I' 2 (**Fig. 2**). Although placed among the walls of later structures, it is the most thoroughly excavated pit until present. Its bottom lies at a depth of 2,92 m from the 0,00-mark for the site and is 1,50 m in diameter. The pit was found sealed with the floor level of the Apollo temple at a depth of 1,05-1,10 m. That level as well as the earth immediately beneath it contain small sherds of unrepresentative pottery from the 2nd-3rd century. The lower layer is poor in finds. Small fragments of Thracian pottery are accidentally found in it. The concentration of finds grows up at a depth of 1,60-1,70 m. Except for ceramics, stones, flints and many bones begin to appear. A heaping of 3 big (up to 0,40 m) and about 10 smaller stones, 8 fragments of a *pithos* and 2 of a millstone (**Fig. 7. 17**). was registered at a depth of 1,80-1,90 m. The filling of the pit from a depth of 1,60 m to its bottom contained many pottery sherds, 3 small stones, a flint, 9 pieces of clay plastering and 3 small lumps of melted material. A jug with broken mouth was found at a depth of 2, 40 m, almost in the centre of the pit. It had been placed there in straight position and covered with a flat stone (**Fig. 8. 01**). There was black greasy earth (remains of some organic substance) inside the jug. The jug is made of grey clay and is decorated with burnished vertical stripes. A bronze rivet and a broken bronze appliqué had been put just under the jug (**Fig. 8. 10, 11**). The bronze fibula which was found at the very bottom of the pit (**Fig. 8. 12**) is of great importance for the dating of the whole pit complex. It belongs to the so-called Langton-Down or Riha 4.4.4 type and dates to the second half of the 1st century AD (Riha 1994, p. 88-89, taf. 14, 2113). The fibulas of the type are usually met in the Roman provinces Britannia and Gallia as well as along the Rhine (Riha 1994, p. 87). The fibula from pit 32 points to either economic relations with those lands or presence of foreigners from there in the settlement. Only one more sample of the

type is known until now from Bulgaria (found in Lom) (Генчева 2004, p. 79). On the borderline between pit 32 and pit 36 was found fragmentary fibula, so-called thracian type (**Fig. 8. 13** see Домарадски 2000, p. 209-210).

The total of pottery sherds is over 900 and the relation between hand-made and wheel-made pottery is approximately 1:1,5.

There are 388 sherds of hand-made pottery, 317 of them being with rough surface in different colours (ochre, brick-red, brown, grey). Most of the sherds are of pots (**Fig 7. 01, 02, 04, 05, 16**). At least 20 different vessels have been identified. Twenty-nine sherds bear band decoration and have bud- or tongue-shaped handles. Over 50 sherds are with incised decoration of straight or wavy parallel lines. The decoration of a few others is combined. Some of the sherds are of vessels belonging to the so-called “ceașca dacica” type and others are of shallow vessels with wide mouth. Fifty-one fragments are blacken with smoke or bear traces of secondary burning. Seventy-one sherds are of vessels made by hand or by means of a slow potter's wheel (**Fig 7. 03, 06, 07**). They have burnished surface and are ochre, brown or black in colour. These sherds are of bowls, jugs, pots and fruit dishes (over 15 vessels). Four of them are secondarily burnt and two others (black-coloured) are additionally shaped like tokens (**Fig 8. 14**).

The wheel-made pottery is represented by 534 fragments, 254 of which are grey in colour. They come from bowls, fruit dishes, pots, jugs and small-sized vessels (**Fig 7. 08, 12, 13, 14, 15**). Some 10 per cent of the vessels from this group (mostly the fruit dishes) are decorated with burnished bands (**Fig 8. 04, 05, 06**). There is a hole pierced in the foot of a fruit dish (**Fig 8. 09**). The burnished decoration of one of the jugs is also worth mentioning: it divides the surface into fields filled with branch or tree pattern (**Fig 8. 02**). This decoration resembles very much the decoration of a zoomorphic ceramic vessel which was found during the campaign in 2005.

There are 32 sherds of wheel-made vessels with brick-red, ochre and brown colour (**Fig. 7. 09, 11 and fig. 8. 03**). Two sherds of bottoms are red-varnished. Other 8 sherds are of bowls with white-painted decoration over the brown-varnished outer surface. In a few cases red lines are painted over the white ones. Some wall sherds are ochre-coloured, but with yellow varnish on the outside.

The amphora sherds are 247 in number. They are yellow/ochre to ochre/brick-red in colour, with outer varnish in yellow as well as in the shades of brick-red (**Fig. 7. 10, 18 and fig. 8. 07**). Eight of the amphora walls are shaped as tokens (**Fig. 8. 14**). A *graffito* of two letters is inscribed on another one (**Fig 8. 08**). More than 10 sherds come from a brick-red-coloured *pithos* with rich incised decoration (**Fig 7. 09**).

The rich osteological material is rather interesting. It includes lower jaws of more than 40 pigs.

Structure 33. It is situated in working squares I 2/ I 3 and II 2/ II 3 (**Fig 2**). The structure is registered from a level of -1,35 m downwards. Its bottom lies at a depth of 2, 50 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. The ground plan of the structure resembles a trapezium. The structure appeared in the form of strips of burnt earth and charcoals immediately beneath the dismantled south-eastern wall of the Apollo temple, at a level of -1,35/1,40 m. The structure is about 3,50 m long from the north-east to the south-west, its width varying from 1,50 (on the south) to 1,00 m (on the north). The upper layer of its filling was 0,05-0,15 m thick and contained small sherds of (mostly hand-made) pottery and a few bones. The next layer downwards (about 0,20 m) was poor in finds. The level from -1,80 to -1,90 m yielded bones, pottery, stones and flints, but in low concentration. An amphora handle with stamp reading MEN...EYS, a part of a bronze object and a sherd of an imitative Megarian cup were found in it (**Fig 9. 05, 13**). Irregular strips

of ashes and small charcoals were registered at a depth of 1,90 m. The concentration of finds sharply grew up from that level downwards. The list of finds includes pottery sherds (a *pithos* wall and an amphora mouth with crased stamp among them), bones, stones (36 pieces, one of them with a hole pierced in it, *see Fig. 9. 14*), flints (8 pieces) and more than 50 pieces of different by size clay plastering (from walls, floors and a hearth).

A fragmented fruit dish (about two-thirds of it) was found in the profile of the excavated area in working square II 3. It had been laid upwards with the bottom on flat black earth, over an animal bone. The hollow of the vessel was full of charcoals and charred timber. The other part of the discussed fruit dish was found in working square I' 3, in the level from -1,50 to -1,70 m. The vessel has been successfully restored, with a small missing part of its foot (**Fig. 10. 01**).

The total of collected sherds is about 500. The ratio between hand-made and wheel-made pottery is approximately 1,5:1. The first group includes 293 sherds, 236 of which are with rough surface and different colour (ochre, brick-red, brown, grey, *see Fig. 9. 01, 02, 03*). Most of them are of pots (only one is of a "ceașca dacica", and two – of vessels with wide mouth). Thirty-six sherds bear band decoration and have bud- or tongue-shaped handles. The sherds of hand-made (or made by means of a slow potter's wheel) pottery with burnished surface and ochre, brown or black colour are 57 in number. They are mostly of bowls. Two of the wall sherds are shaped as a tokens (**Fig. 9. 15, 16**).

The wheel-made pottery is represented by 201 sherds, 89 of which are grey in colour. They are parts of bowls, fruit dishes, pots, jugs, lids and small-sized vessels (**Fig. 9. 06, 10 and fig. 10. 04, 05**). About 10 per cent of the group is decorated with burnished stripes (almost all the fruit dishes, *see Fig. 10. 01, 02, 03*). Seventeen sherds are of wheel-made vessels with brick-red, ochre or brown colour (parts of about 9 bowls). Three wall sherds are red-varnished (**Fig. 9. 12**), and other six are decorated with white painting over brown varnish (**Fig. 10. 06**). There is only one black-glazed fragment, most probably of a *kantharos*. Two other sherds are of small bowls with brick-red colour (one of them has been restored, *see Fig. 9. 11*).

Ninety-three sherds come from ochre- to brick-red-coloured amphorae, some of which were yellow-varnished on the outside (4 bottoms and 8 handles, two of which stamped, *see Fig. 9. 04, 05, 07, 08, 09*).

Pit 33 A. It is situated in working squares I 2 and I 3, and is partially overlapped by structure 33 (**Fig. 2**). About one-fourth part of it was excavated. The pit is recognizable only in the loess, downwards from level -2,50 m. Its bottom lies at a depth of 2,72 m and was found covered with a thin (about 0,03 m) layer of ashes and charcoals. The lower part of the pit was full of earth mixed with charcoals, small bones, stones, flints, pieces of clay plastering (23 pieces) and broken pottery (163 sherds).

The ratio of hand-made and wheel-made pottery is approximately 3:1. The sherds of hand-made vessels are 125 in number. Ninety-eight of them (mostly of pots) are with rough surface and differ in colour from ochre, brick-red and brown to grey. Sixteen of them bear band decoration and have bud- or tongue-shaped handles (**Fig. 5. 02**). The sherds of hand-made (or made by means of a slow potter's wheel) pottery with burnished surface and ochre, brown or black colour are 27 in number. They are mostly of bowls.

The wheel-made pottery is represented by 38 sherds, 13 of which are grey in colour. They are parts of bowls and jugs (?). Some of the fragments have a burnished decoration.

Twenty-five sherds are of ochre- to brick-red-coloured amphorae, some of which were yellow-varnished on the outside (the total includes 1 handle and 1 mouth, *see Fig. 5. 01*).

Pit 33 B. It is situated in working squares I 3 and II 3. The pit is partially overlapped by structure 33 and pit 8, and a part of it was destroyed in the past by the partition wall of the

Roman *principia*, whose foundations were laid at level -1,65 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. Less than a half of the pit was excavated. It is clearly recognizable in the loess, downwards from level -2,50 m. Its bottom lies at a depth of 2,68 m and was found covered with a thin layer of earth mixed with ashes. The pit was beehive-shaped, with diameter of 1,40 m at the bottom. A layer containing charcoals, pieces of baked clay (6 pieces of clay plastering), certain amount of broken pottery, 2 red and 1 brown flint and bones was registered in the pit, some 0,30-0,40 m beneath the foundations of the *principia*. There was a homogeneous layer of charcoals immediately under it (0,50 m beneath the foundations of the *principia*). The filling of the pit downwards was similar to the already described one – grey-brown earth mixed with charcoals and small pieces of baked clay. A spindle-whirl was found in the pit (**Fig. 6. 02**).

The amount of collected pottery sherds is 47. The ratio of hand-made and wheel-made pottery is approximately 1,5:1. The sherds of hand-made vessels are 29 in number. Twenty-six of them (mostly of pots, but a handle of a “ceașca dacica” as well) are with rough surface and differ in colour from ochre, brick-red and brown to grey. Eight of them bear band decoration and have bud- and tongue-shaped handles (**Fig. 6. 01**). One of the wall sherds is shaped as a token (**Fig. 6. 03**). The sherds of hand-made (or made by means of a slow potter's wheel) pottery with burnished surface and ochre, brown or black colour are 3 in number.

The wheel-made pottery is represented by 18 sherds, 6 of which are grey in colour. They are parts of bowls and a foot of a fruit dish. Some of the fragments are decorated with burnished stripes (**Fig 6. 04**). One sherd is of a thin-walled vessel with brick-red colour.

There are 11 fragments of ochre- and brick-red-coloured amphorae.

Pit 34. It is situated in working square I' 3. The pit is asymmetrical and more or less cone-shaped, with diameter of 0,70-0,90 m at the bottom. It was partially destroyed to a level of -1,70/1,80 m by a later embankment (with materials from the 3rd century AD). The filling of the upper part of the pit probably consisted of earth, with a small amount or without broken pottery. Between levels -2,30/2,40 and -2,80-2,90 m the pit was tightly filled almost entirely with pieces of clay plastering from floors, walls and hearths (20 big and over 30 small pieces). Most of those had been laid downwards with their front side. There was little pottery in the pit – 6 sherds of hand-made and other six of wheel-made vessels (ratio of 1:1). Four of the hand-made sherds are of pots with ochre and grey-brown colour. Three of them are mouth parts (one of them has a handle and bears a band decoration, *see Fig. 11. 01*). The rest two hand-made sherds are of vessels with grey-brown burnished surface (**Fig. 11. 02**). Four of the wheel-made sherds are grey in colour. They are parts of two bowls, of a fruit dish (a mouth decorated on the periphery with a burnished wavy stripe) and an imitative Megarian cup (a hemispherical bottom, *see Fig. 11. 03; 04; 05; 07*). The rest two wheel-made sherds are brick-red in colour. One of them is a preserved handle and bears relief decoration in a horizontal stripe (**Fig. 11. 06**).

The pit's bottom lies at a depth of 3,27 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. There were very little finds in its lower part (from -2,90 to -3,27 m): only 4 pottery sherds and a piece of clay plastering.

Pit 35. The pit is situated in working square I' 2, partially beneath the partition wall of the *sacellum* of the headquarters building. A half of it was excavated. The pit has the shape of a truncated cone, with larger diameter (at the bottom) of about 1,50 m. Another pit with diameter of 0,40-0,50 m was later dug in pit 35, a little bit aside from its centre. The later pit (designated as pit 35a) did not contain any finds. Its filling's colour was similar to the one of pit 35.

The pit was partially destroyed to a level of -1,70/1,80 m by a later embankment containing materials from the 3rd century AD. The pit's bottom is flat and lies at a depth of 3,43 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. The filling was comparatively poor in finds: a bronze eagle's

head (fig. 14. 10), 2 stones, 4 pieces of clay plastering (from walls, floors and a hearth) and some 90 pottery sherds. The layer from -2,30 to -2,60 m of the filling contained 23 fragments of walls and the bottom of a *pithos* (Fig. 14. 09). The latter was found in horizontal position. There were traces of burning on its inner side. It is possible that the whole lower part of the *pithos* was laid intact in the pit, and was broken into pieces during its filling in. The breaking might have also been caused by the impact of moisture. The *pithos* is light-brown in colour. It was made of clay with a great admixture of quartz.

Forty-five of the sherds are of hand-made vessels, and 43 – of wheel-made ones. The ratio is approximately 1:1. The fragments of wheel-made pottery come from about 20 different vessels. Twenty sherds are of amphorae with yellow, ochre, brick-red and brown colour. The grey-coloured sherds are 18 in number and come from jugs, bowls, a sifter, a pot and an imitative Megarian cup (Fig. 14. 05, 07, 08). There are 7 ochre- and brick-red-coloured sherds. Some of the grey-coloured sherds are decorated with burnished stripes.

The hand-made pottery sherds belong to about 15 different vessels. Sixteen of them are polished on both sides (walls of bowls with ochre-brown to black colour; one of the bowls has been restored, see Fig. 14. 02, 03, 06). The rest 27 fragments are of ochre- and brown-coloured pots (6 of them bear incised or relief decoration in bands, see Fig. 14. 01; 04). Two bottoms of pots are blacken with smoke on the inside.

Pit 36. The pit is situated in working squares I 2 and I' 2, partially beneath the partition wall of the *sacellum* of the headquarters building. Less than one-fifth part of it was excavated. The pit's shape was not exactly established, but it seems to have resembled a beehive. Its diameter is more than 1,50 m at the bottom, which lies at a depth of 3,18 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. The pit was partially destroyed to a level of -1,70/1,90 m by a later embankment containing materials from the 3rd century AD. The upper part of the pit, to a level of -2,30/2,40 m, probably contained less archaeological materials. Downwards from that level the excavated part of the pit yielded a few stones, 2 flints, 11 pieces of clay plastering and baked earth flour, three sherds of a *pithos*, a lump of melted substance, bones and 104 pottery sherds.

Forty-three of the sherds belong to about 20 different wheel-made vessels, and the rest 61 are of some 30 hand-made vessels (ratio of about 1:1,5).

There are 8 amphora fragments (yellow, ochre and brick-red in colour). Three of them are shaped as tokens with diameters ranging from 4,5 to 6,5 cm (Fig. 15. 10). The sherds of wheel-made pottery are brick-red (7 pieces, see fig. 15. 11) or grey in colour (28 pieces, see Fig. 15. 06, 07, 08, 09). They belong to bowls, jugs, fruit dishes, a two-handle cup, a pot and a lid. About one-fourth part of them are decorated with burnished stripes. One of the sherds is shaped as a token (Fig. 15.10).

The hand-made pottery is represented by 17 sherds of vessels with polished surface (bowls, fruit dishes and a pot; colour range: brown, grey-brown, black, see Fig. 15. 04, 05) and 44 sherds of vessels with rough surface (mostly pots, ochre to grey-brown in colour, see Fig. 15. 01, 02). Two of the latter are shaped as tokens (Fig 15. 10). Three sherds of walls bear band decoration. Two others are decorated with incised parallel lines. There are 2 fragments of "ceașca dacica" cups (Fig. 15. 03). Nine of the sherds are blacken with smoke on the inside.

Pit 37. The pit is situated in working square I' 3. About a half of it was excavated. The original shape of the pit has not been established, because part of it was destroyed to a level of -1,70/1,80 m by a later embankment from the 3rd century AD and pit VII from the late-19th century. Its diameter is about 1,50 m at the bottom, which lies at a depth of 3,10 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. The pit was poor in finds: 13 fragments of a *pithos* (two of them with traces of secondary burning), a flint, a piece of wall clay plastering and 6 pottery sherds. Three

of the sherds are of wheel-made vessels (an ochre-coloured bowl, a brick-red vessel of unknown shape and a token made of an amphora wall, *see* **Fig. 12. 01**) and the rest – of hand-made ones (a pot with rough surface and two bowls with polished walls, *see* **Fig. 12. 02**).

Pit 38. The pit is situated in working square I' 3, partially beneath the partition wall of the *sacellum* of the headquarters building. A little more than a half of it was excavated. The pit is bell-shaped. Its diameter is about 2,30 m at the bottom, which lies at a depth of 3,27 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. A part of the pit was destroyed to a level of -1,90/2,00 m by a later embankment from the 3rd century AD and pit VIII from the late-19th century. There is another pit next to pit 38 on the east, with diameter of 0,40 m. The smaller digging was registered as pit 38a. Its filling did not differ by colour from that of pit 38, but there were no finds in it.

Similar to the already-discussed cases, the upper part of pit 38 (to a level of -2,30/2,40 m) must have contained less archaeological materials. Its lower part yielded a copper bracelet, a sherd of an imitative Megarian cup, a spindle-whirl, several stones, 2 flints, 10 pieces of clay plastering and baked earth flour, bones, the bottom and many wall sherds of a *pithos*, a fragment of a tile and 132 pottery sherds (**Fig 16. 05, 14, 15, 16**).

The layer from -2,40 to -2,80 m of the filling yielded 53 fragments of walls, 3 of the mouth and the whole bottom of a *pithos* (**Fig. 16. 11, 12, 13**) The latter was found in horizontal position. There were traces of burning on its inner side. Sherds of other vessels were found within the *pithos*. The *pithos* is light-brown in colour and was made of clay with a great admixture of quartz. Quite a big part of it seems to have been laid intact in the pit and broken into pieces later, during the filling of the pit.

The pottery sherds are of wheel-made and hand-made vessels. The first group includes 39 pieces of about 20 vessels, and the other one – 92 sherds of about also 20 vessels (a ratio of approximately 1:2).

The amphora sherds are 19 in number (yellow, ochre and brick-red in colour). The wheel-made pottery is also represented by 2 brown/ochre-coloured (one of those of a jug with burnished vertical stripes) and 17 grey-coloured sherds (of bowls and jugs, *see* **Fig. 16. 09, 10**).

The group of hand-made pottery includes 23 sherds of vessels with polished surface (bowls, fruit dishes and pots with different colour – ochre, brown, grey-brown and black, *see* **Fig. 16. 02, 03, 04, 06, 07**) and 65 sherds of vessels with rough surface (mostly pots with ochre or grey-brown colour and a few cups, *see* **Fig. 16. 01, 08**). One of them is additionally shaped as a token (**Fig. 16. 17**).

Pit 39. The pit is situated in working square I' 3. About a half of it was excavated. The shape of the pit was not established. Its diameter is about 1,00 m. The pit was recognized only in the loess, at a level of -2,45 m. Its bottom lies at a depth of about 3,10 m from the 0,00-mark for the site. The pit yielded 35 sherds of hand-made pottery (18 of pots and 17 of vessels with polished surface) and 7 others of wheel-made pottery (2 of amphorae with yellow surface, 1 of an ochre-coloured vessel and 4 of vessels with grey colour, *see* **Fig. 13. 02**). The layer immediately above the remains of the pit (from level -2,40 m to level -2,00 m) contained no materials from the Thracian period. The upper layer (from -2,00 m to -1,70 m) however yielded a spindle-whirl and a Hellenistic coin (picture 2). Sherds of a hand-made pot (now restored) and of two fruit dishes were also found at the same level. Another part of one of those fruit dishes was discovered in structure 33 (**Fig 13. 01 and fig 10. 01**). The finds from the layer upwards from level -2,00 m might well not belonged to pit 38, but to another structure or pit above it.

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Rescue excavations in Sexaginta Pista / Rousse - 2006/

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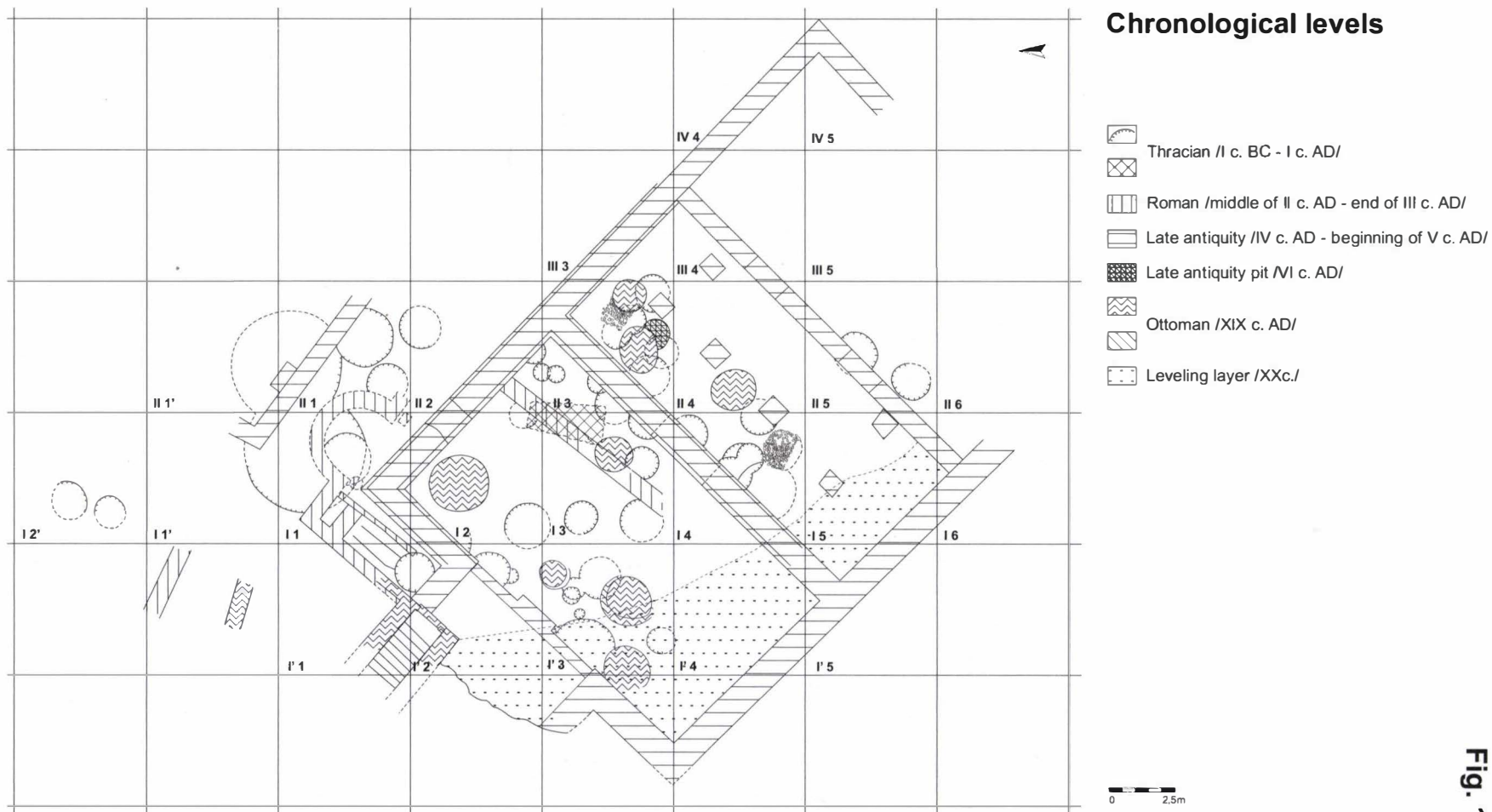


Fig. 1

The Thracian pit complex /Rousse - 2006/

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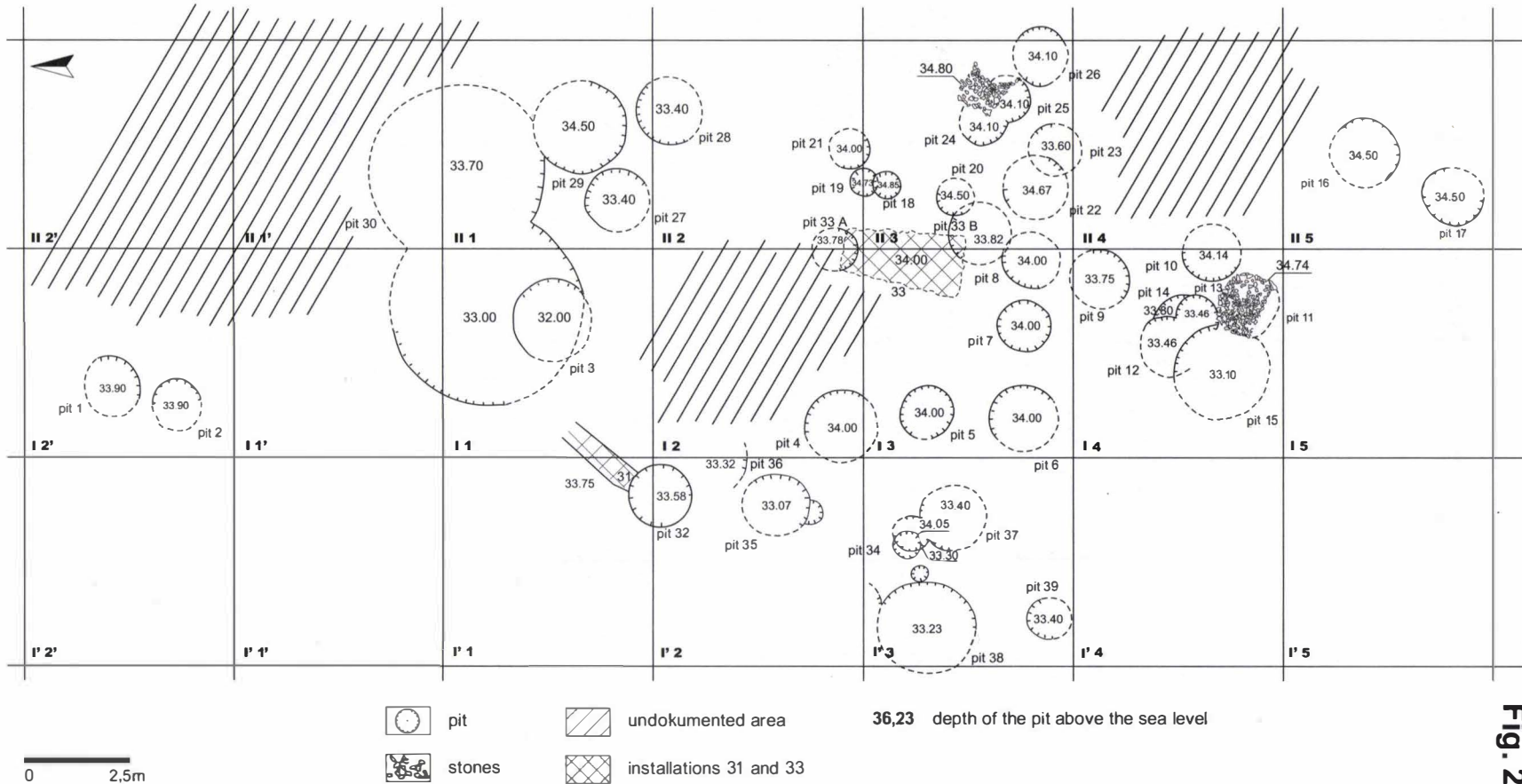
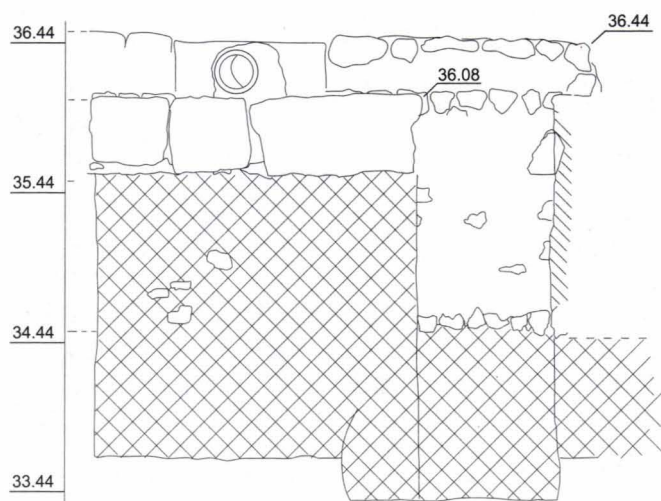
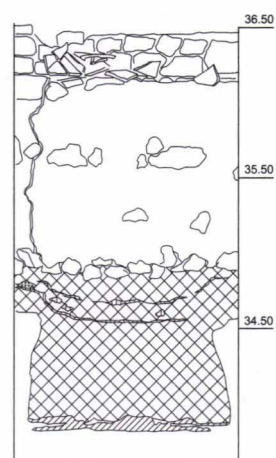


Fig. 2

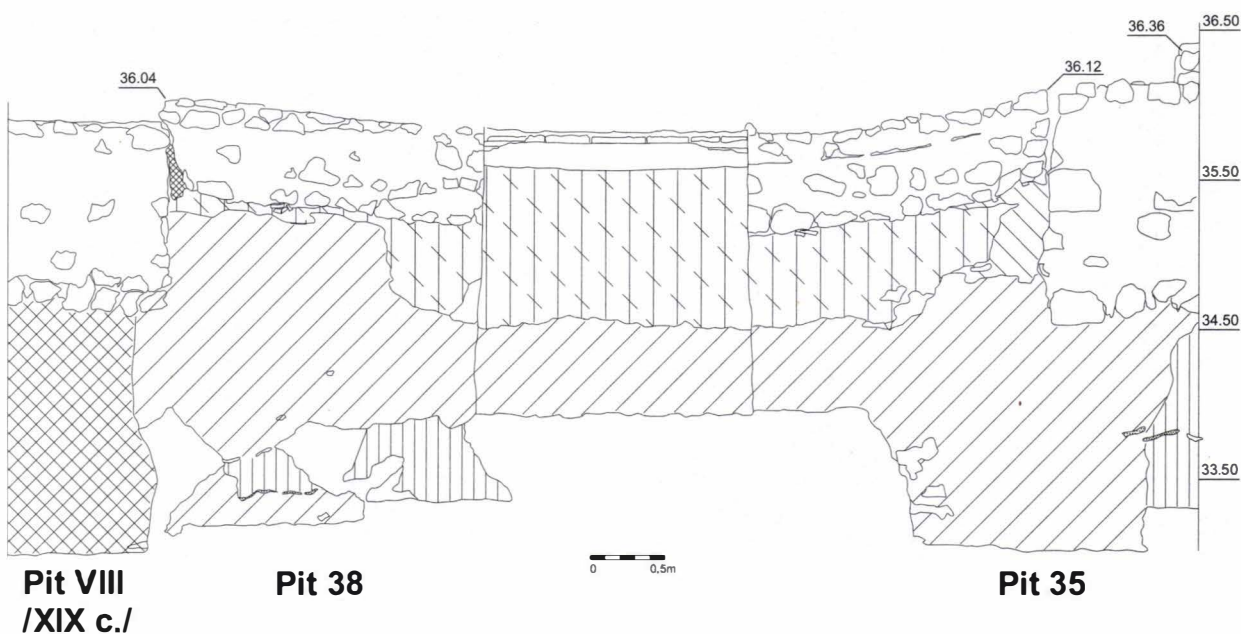
Profiles and shapes of the pits



Pit 32



Pit 33 B

Pit VIII
/XIX c./

Pit 38

Pit 35

Fig. 6

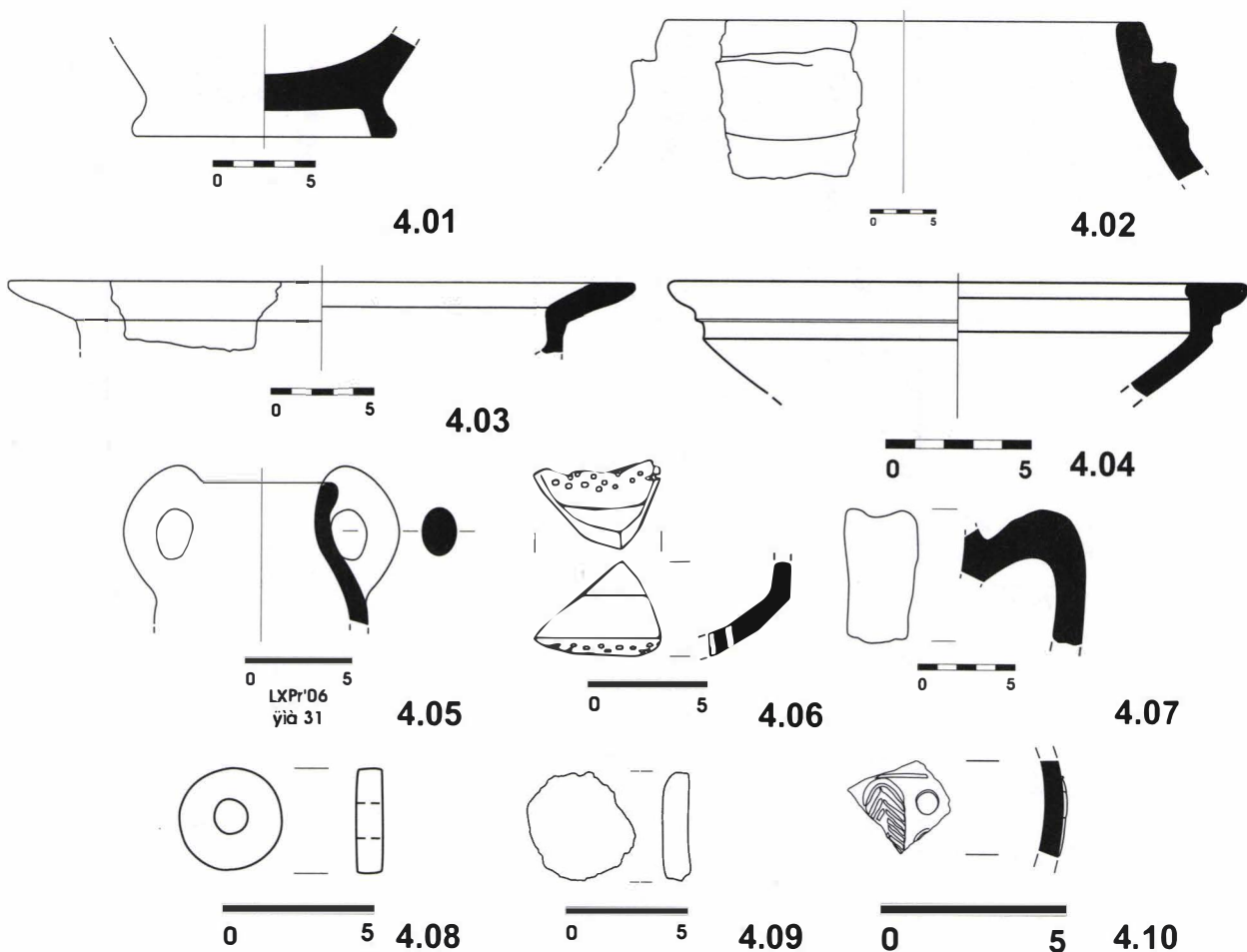


Fig. 4

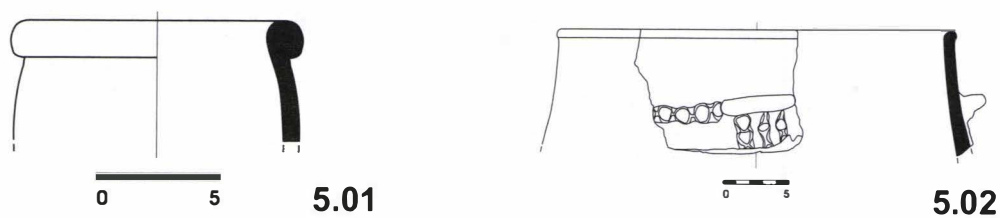


Fig. 5

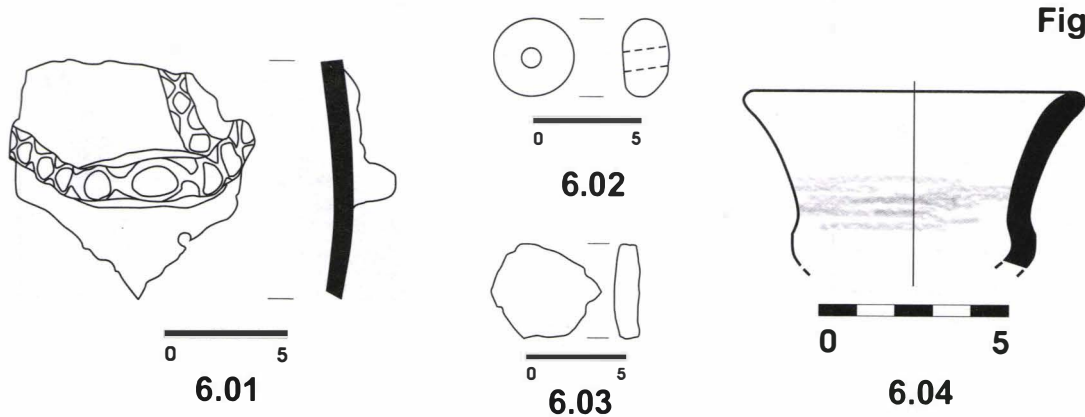
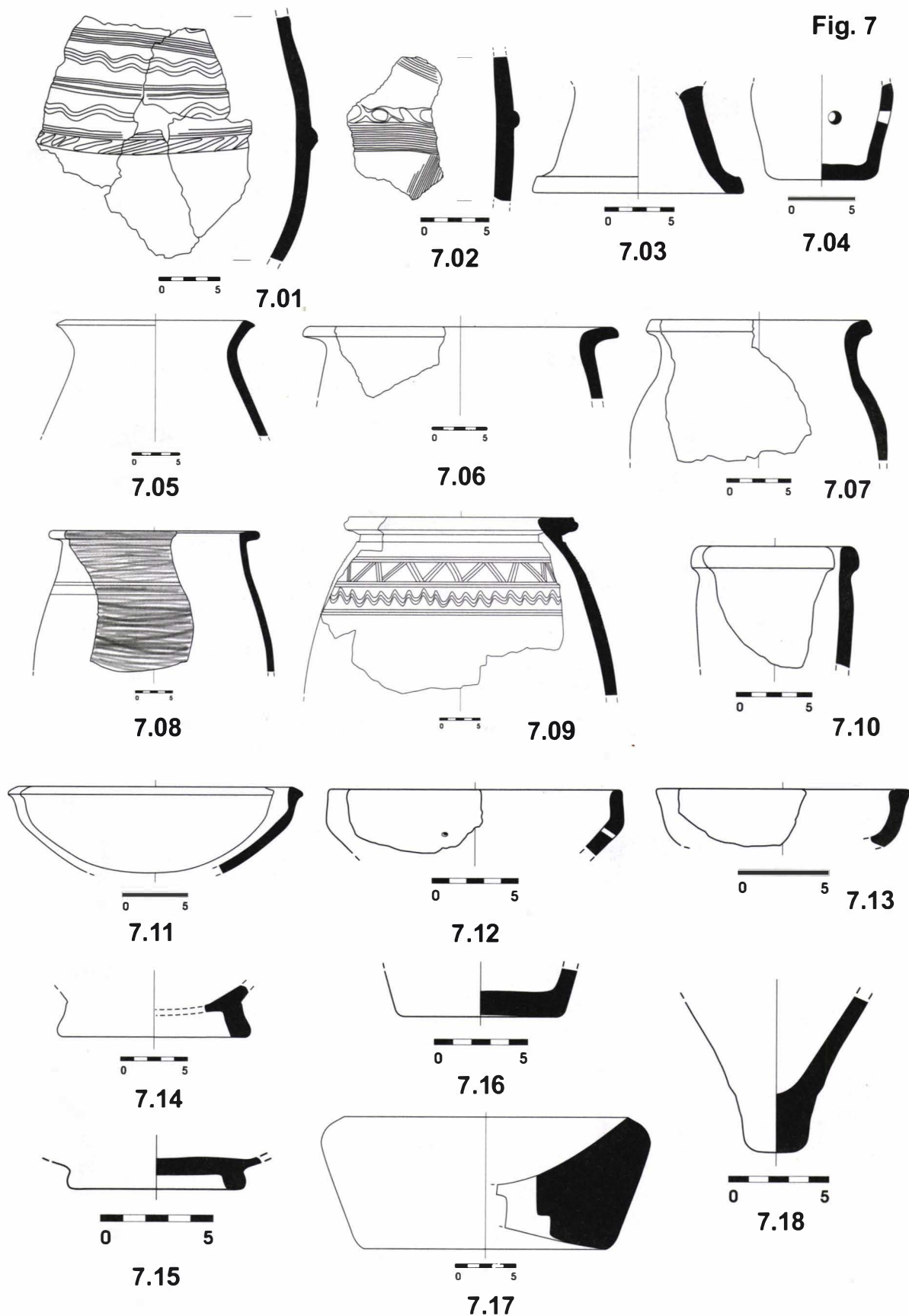


Fig. 7



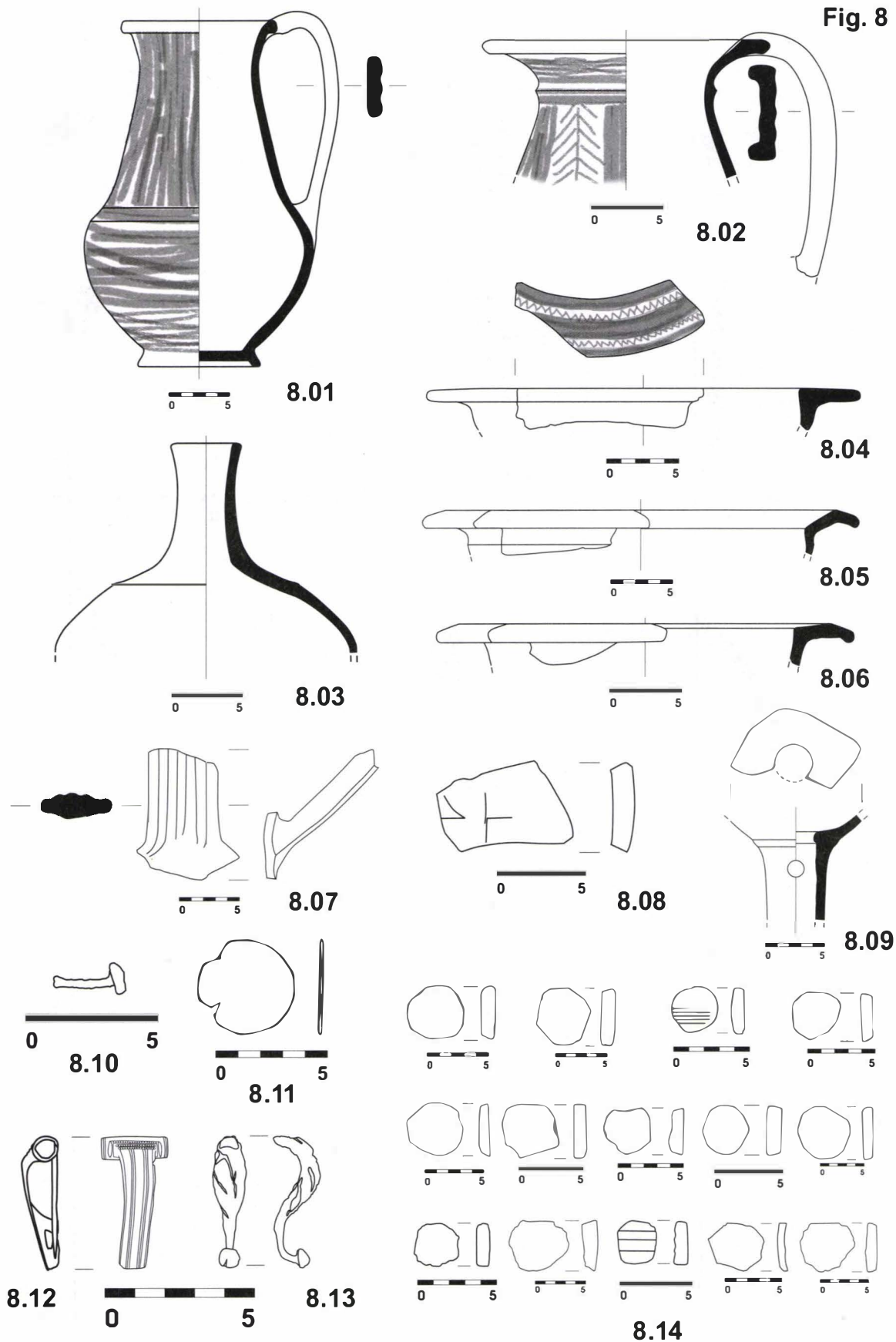


Fig. 9

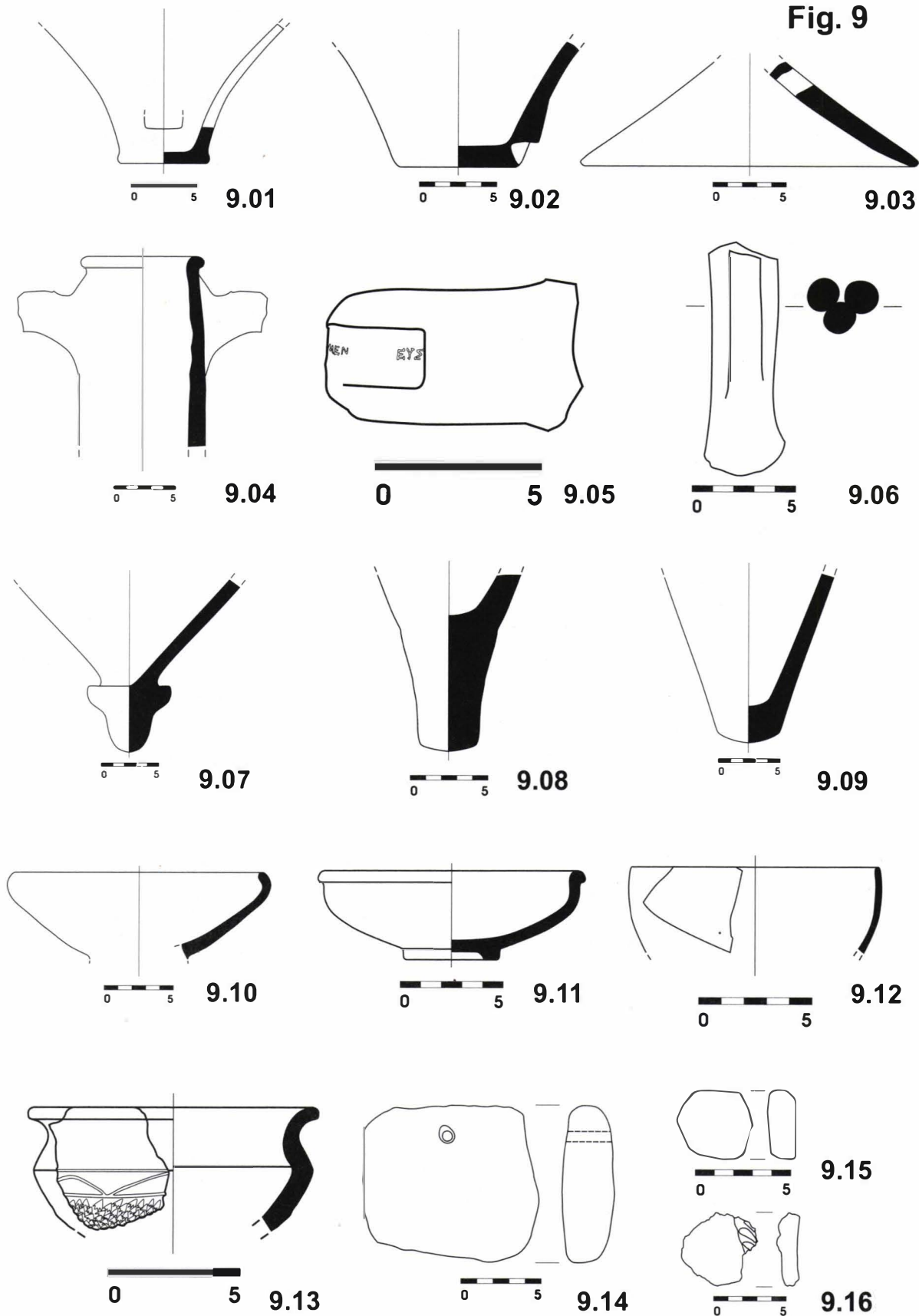
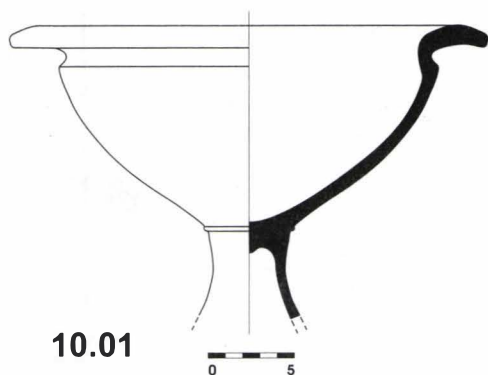
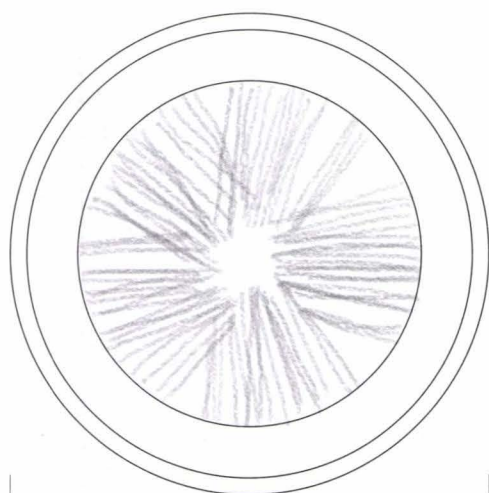
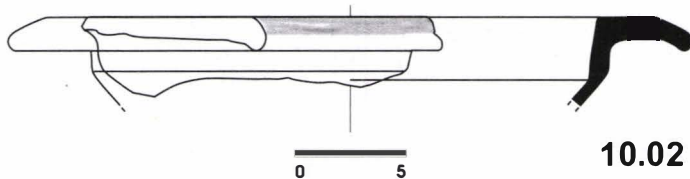
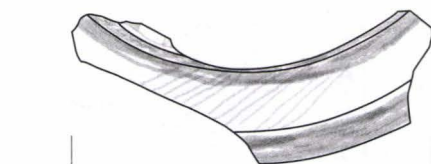


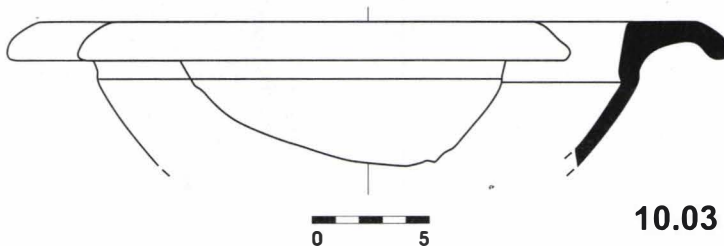
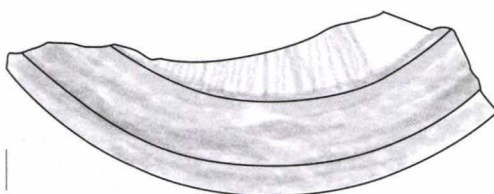
Fig. 10



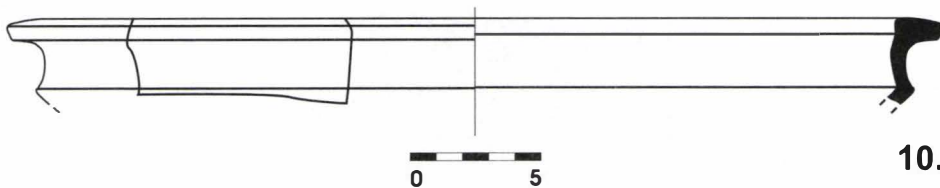
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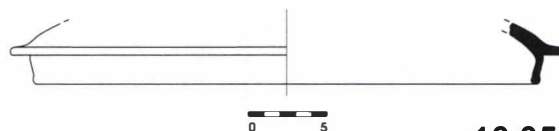
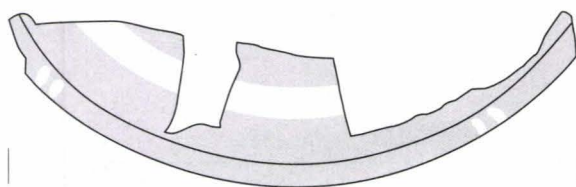
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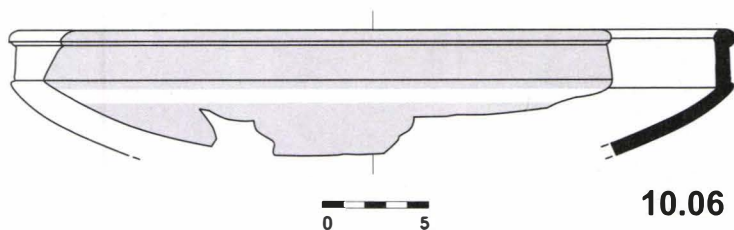
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Fig. 13

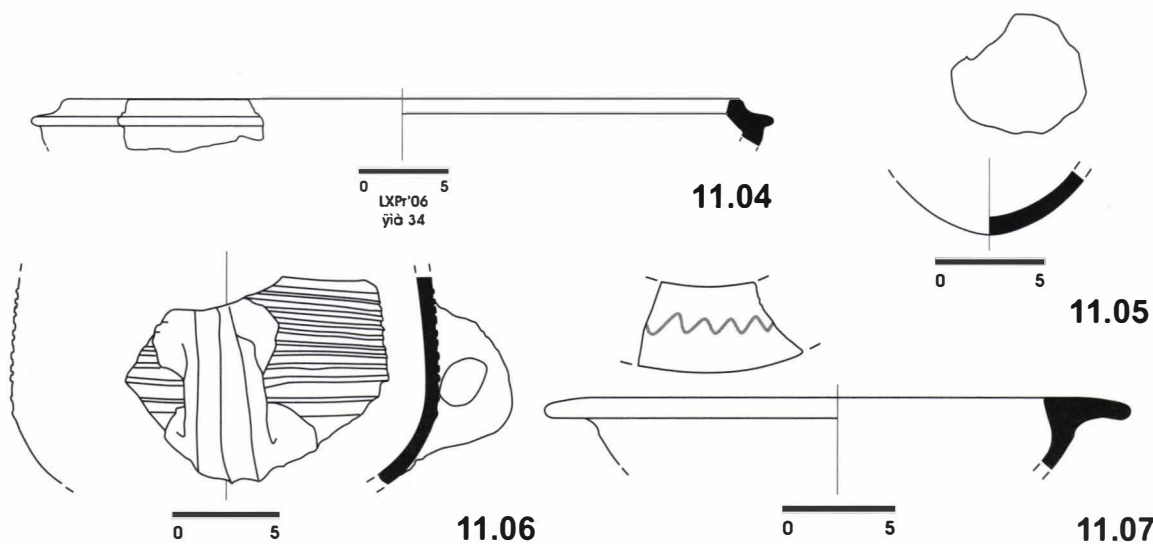
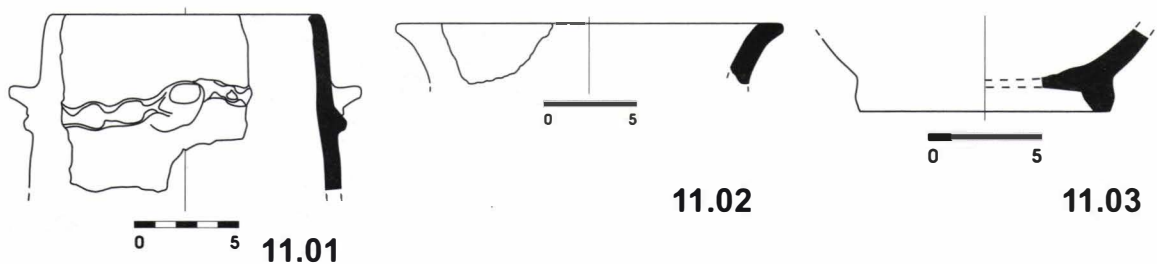


Fig. 11

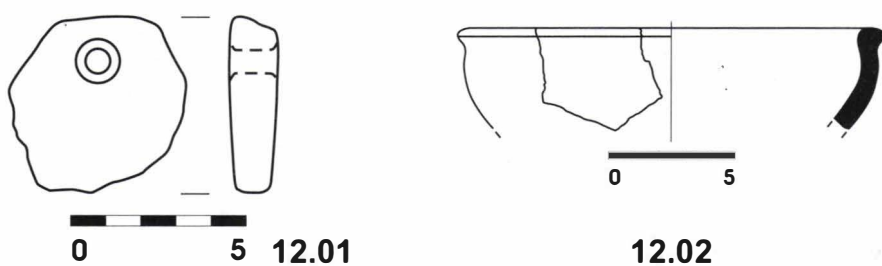
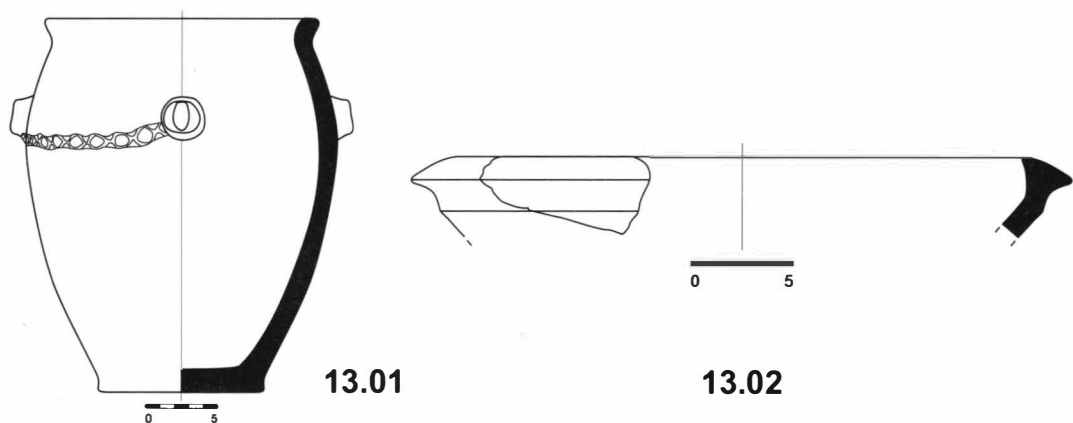
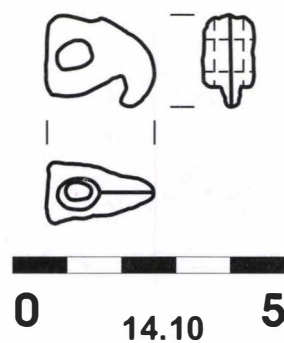
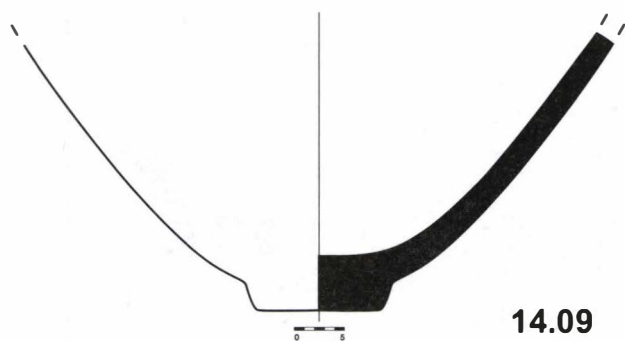
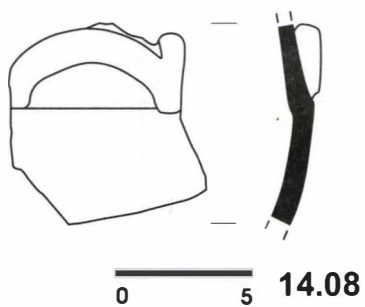
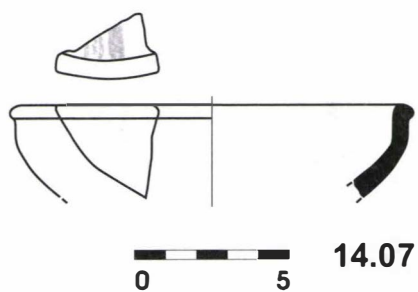
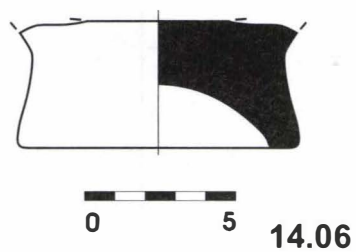
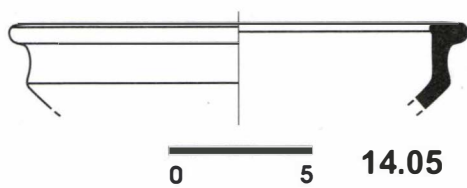
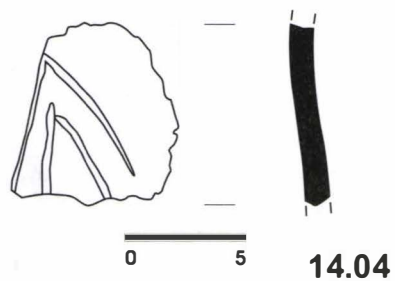
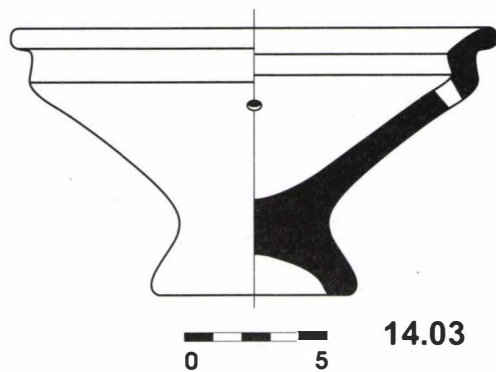
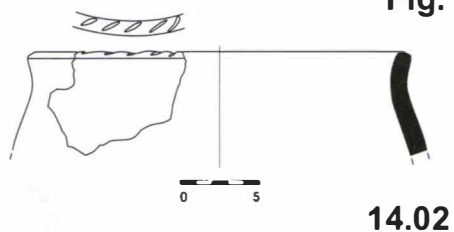
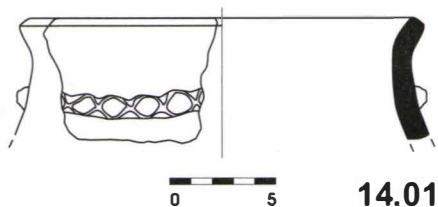
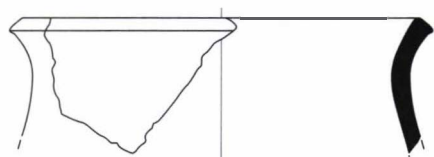


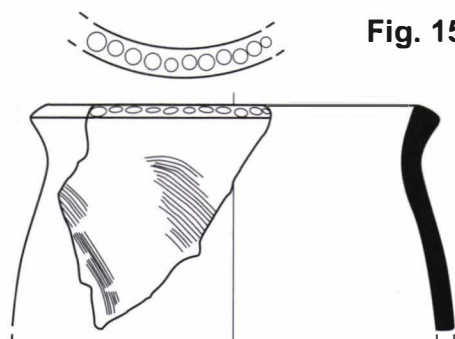
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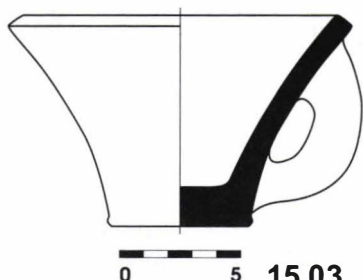




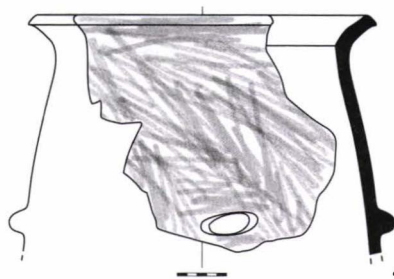
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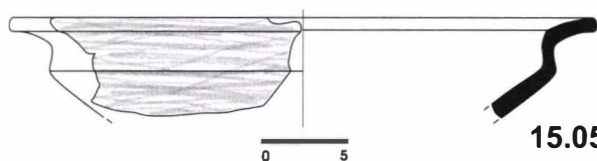
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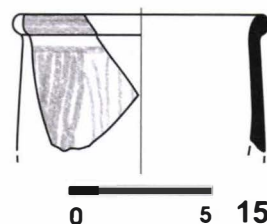
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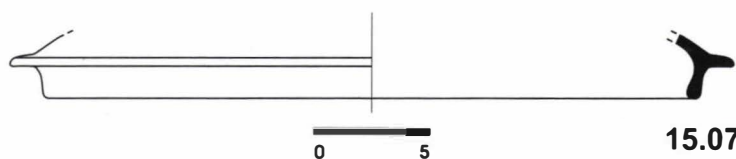
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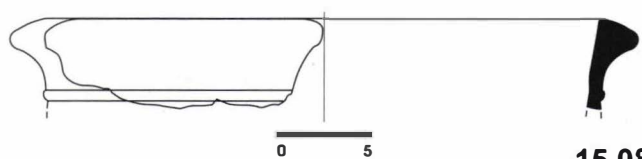
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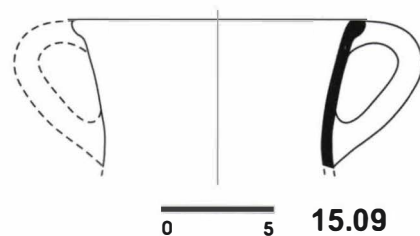
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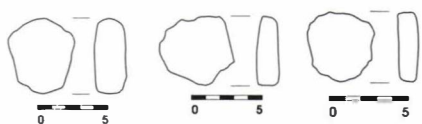
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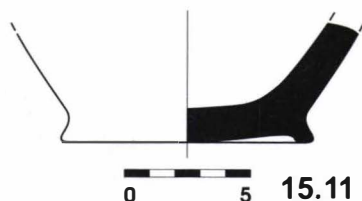
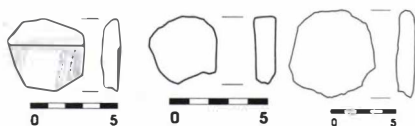
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Fig. 16

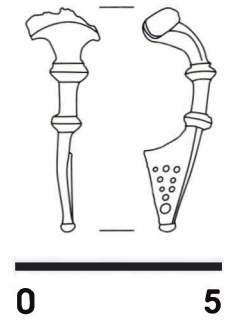
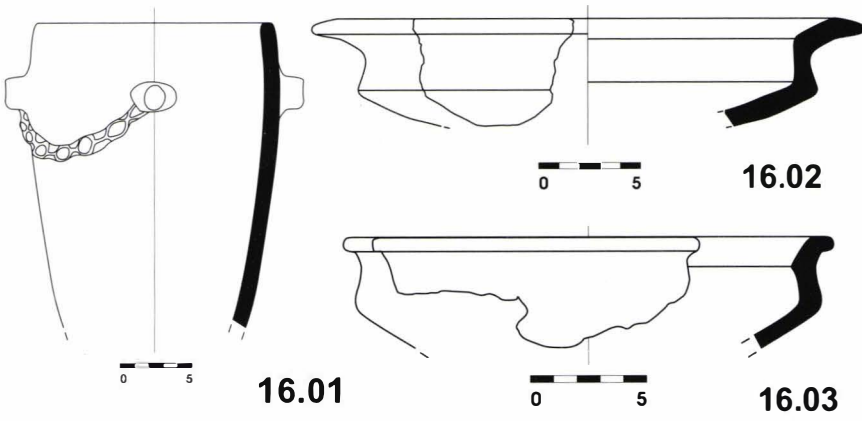
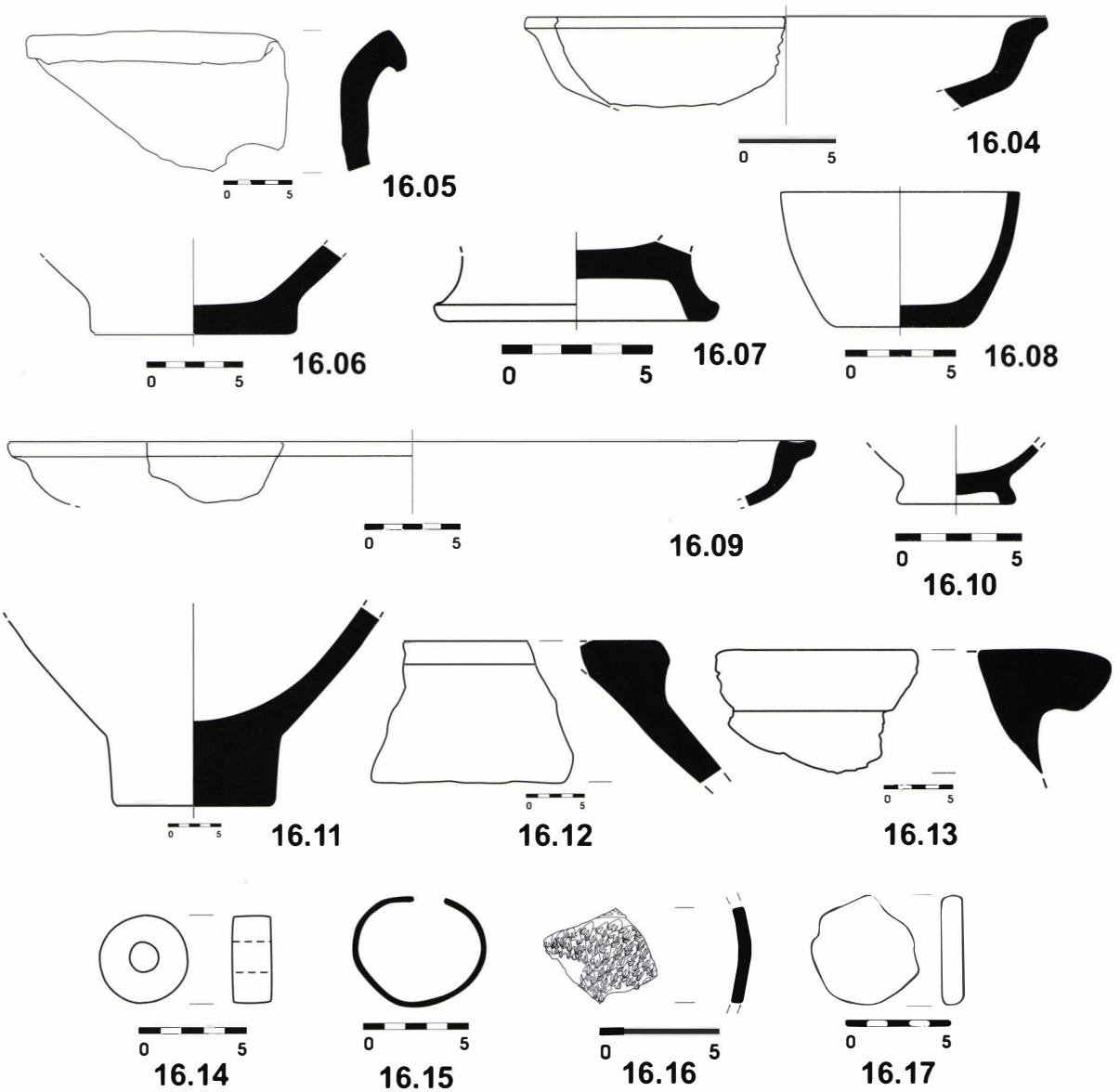


Fig. 17





Pic. 1

Pic. 2



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5

SANCTUARIES, ALTARS AND CULT HEARTH FROM THE IRON AGE IN THE BALKAN-CARPATHIAN-PONTIC SPACE

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Key-words: sanctuaries, cult places, Balkan-Carpathian-Pontic space, Iron Age

In the Balkan-Carpathian-Pontic space are known more than 83 cult constructions. They were discovered at 49 archaeological monuments, the same number of discoveries was made at the Greek towns as Olbia (Arheologia SSSR, 1984, p. 301, tabl. CXI, 2, 3), Callatis (Iconomu 1980, p. 229-233), Thracian urbs as Seutopolis (Čičikova 1975, p. 181) or mixed urbs as Pistiros (Lazov 1996, p. 63-73; Domaradzki 2002, p. 11-29), Albesti (Trohani 1986, p. 662), Thracian-getic dasas as Neporotovo (Krušel'nica 1980, p. 90, 97, 109), Butuceni (Niculiță 1987, p. 3-79), Saharna Mare (Smimov, Niculiță 1987, p. 73-79), Saharna Mare (Smimov, Niculiță 2003, fig. 15-20), Brad (Ursache 1995, p. 62-71), or at the fortresses from Zolotaja Balka (Vjazmitina 1969, p. 132-188), Matronino (Bessonova, Skoryj 2001, fig. 2/3), Žabotin (Pokrovskaja 1962, fig. 3, 6) and at the settlement from the village Dolineni, Cernăuți region (Smimova 1976, 293-307). Some categories, such as the cult hearths, are not missing either from the tumuli burials discovered during the excavations from Zimnicea (Alexandrescu 1980, p. 19-126), Goleamo Izvor (Čičikova 1975, p. 185), Sveščari (Faher 1934, p. 110), Batak (Končev, Milčev 1970, p. 186-187), Fântânile (Mateescu, Babeș 1988, p. 283-291), etc.

There aren't two complexes that would be completely identical among those 83 known at present. Generally speaking they form three big categories: a) sanctuaries, b) altars, c) cult hearths.

The sanctuaries in their turn are: circular (Philippopolis, Butuceni, Dolineni, Sarmizegetusa), apsidal (Racoș, Popești) and rectangular (Sarmizegetusa, Bâta Doamnei) with stone tambour alignments or wooden columns with stone quadric-bases. Such sanctuaries were discovered in - different sites that existed during the first millennium BC – first centuries AD known by such sites: the complex from Philippopolis-Plovdiv from the 6th-5th centuries BC (Koleva 2000, p. 103-105), Getic fortresses from Butuceni dated with the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Niculiță 1987, p. 73-79), the settlement from Dolineni from the 1st century BC – 2nd century AD (Smimova 1976, 316), the dasas Bradu (Ursachi 1995, p. 69), Sarmizegetusa – 1st century BC – 2nd century AD (Daicoviciu 1972, p. 235-240, 260-262), Racoș (Florea 2002, p. 194-195) etc.

The majority of the specialists who approached the problem of the use of the sanctuaries have pointed out that regardless of the circular, apsidal or rectangular form, the sanctuaries represented cult construction destined to satisfy certain religious rituals, and they had an applicative functionality of „astronomic time measurement” – sanctuaries-calendars (Bobancu, Samoilă, Poenaru 1980, p. 190; Rodean 1984, p. 320).

The second category of cult constructions – the altars – is represented through a much bigger number of findings and is spread on a larger area. According to the form they are quadrangular and circular, ornamented or ornament free.

Ornamented rectangular altars discovered at Philippopolis chronologically refer to the 6th-3rd centuries BC (Koteva 2000, p. 105), Seuthopolis, were found mainly in houses or cult dwellings dated with the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Čičikova 1975, p. 181-192), Pistiros which functioned in the period of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Lazov 1996, p. 73), Popești, in the apsidal construction from the 2nd-1st centuries BC (Vulpe 1959, p. 314-319) and in the burial rooms from the tumuli burials at Zimnicea, Sveščari, Fântânile etc. functioning in the same chronological diapason.

On the basis of the materials that are at the disposal of the researches it is possible to establish that rectangular altars, as well as circular altars were more largely distributed in the second half of the 1st millennium BC. Their functioning corresponded generally to the one of the circular and quadrangular sanctuaries with stone or wooden tambours. Hence, the circular altar from the fortress Matronino from Čerkasc region – the basin of river Teasmin – Ukraine, was discovered in association with the material from the 7th-6th centuries BC (Bessonova, Skoryj 2001, p. 9), the one from Zolotaja Balca refers to the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Vjazmitina 1969, p. 122-135) and from Olbia dates with the 2nd century BC (Arheologia 1984, p. 301).

Both circular and rectangular altars are ornamented. They represented a crust of burned clay covered with décor, that was done through stamping, known by the pieces discovered at the fortress from Zolotaja Balka, Bel'skoe, Pistiros and Grădina Bosut.

Although, there aren't known until present two identical rectangular or circular altars based on their form or decor, as stated before, in details they have a lot of common traits.

First, according to their location the altars are known in towns or in davas, in rectangular constructions built at the surface of the ground representing probably sacred cult dwellings, and in mortuary rooms.

Second, the ornament, although not identical and regardless of the altar form or location, was composed of the same incised or incrustated spiraled combinations, squares, triangles, quadrangles or parallel circles. In some cases are noted palmettos or petals.

A particular interest represents the findings of altars covered with stamped decoration in the form of twisted or incised cord, or rows of hatched triangles – ornaments characteristic to the ceramics from the facieses Pšeničevo-Razcapanica-Cozia-Saharna-Babadag. At a large number of sites, such as those from the region of the Lower Dnieper, from Zolotaja Balka, Liubimovka, Gavrilovka, and from Poiana etc., were found “firedogs” characteristic to the Thracian-Getic world (Vjazmitina 1969, p. 122-135).

The circular or oval in plan cult hearth represent clay platforms, some of them built on the antic ground level, others on a fundament of refined stone pieces, or of earth mixed with clay, as known by the discoveries from Pistiros, Saharna Mare etc. The diameter of the hearths vary as a rule from 30x40 cm up to 1x1,20 m. The circular hearths do not exceed the diameter of 1,20-1,50 m. The width of the hearths varies between 8 and 12 cm (Niculiță 2003, p. 26-27).

Some cult hearth had a notch made of non-refined stone pieces or of clay.

The cult hearths are found more frequently than other cult constructions of this type. Only at the Thraco-getic fortress Saharna Mare were found 12 cult hearths. As fragments they are considerably present also at the fortress Bel'skoe (Šramko 1987, p. 127).

In this category of cult construction are included also clay hearth with kernosos. The hearths had a notch of no more that 6-8 cm width. In the center they had several funnel-shaped pots of relatively small dimensions with 16 cm in height, the upper side diameter of 12 cm, and the lower side of 3 cm in diameter. It is similar with the hearths from Girișul de Criș (Sfrengeu 1999, 5-16) and with the globular trunk of those from the fortress Zolotaja Balka (Vjazmitina, 1962, p. 227).

If both the initial stage – the second half of the 1st millennium BC – and the use of the circular and quadrangular sanctuaries with alignments as cult constructions and calendars, are generally accepted by the majority of the specialists, their origin and interpretation of the decorated altars raise certain discussions.

Some specialists link the emergence and the distribution of the altars in the Eastern and Central Europe with the influence of Greek religious ideas (Makiewicz 1987, p. 38-39; 55-64), assumption that cannot be accepted due to the fact that altars are known in the 7th century BC when Greek colonization of the north-west of Pontus Euxinus was in its initial stage (Niculiță 1996, p. 62). On the other hand, circular altars with spiral décor were discovered in the space towards the north of Balkans already in the 13th-12th centuries BC according to the piece found at Sighișoara which's décor is similar to the Mycenaean altars (Horedt 1960, Abb.3).

Already in the 70ies of the 20th century was launched the assumption according to which ornamented cult altars represented indispensably an attribute of the Thracian religion (Čičikova 1975, p. 190-194). This idea was presented by us with arguments in several studies published in the last years (Bessonova 1996, p. 34-36; Lazov 1996, p. 63-73).

If we admit that circular sanctuaries, altars and cult hearth to be of Thracian origin, the only thing that remains unexplained is their presence in Central Europe. It is hard to imagine a Thracian-Getic influence during the 1st millennium BC on such a large scale.

In our opinion, the large distribution of these cult constructions could be connected to the process on Indo-Europeanization.

The similitude of these clay altars from this early period could prove as well the existence of some common religious representations.

If circular constructions from Pistiros, Butuceni, Dolineni, Bradu, and the later ones from Orăștia Mountains are considered sanctuaries-calendars linked directly with the cult of the sun, having also an applicative functional predestination related, more or only with the supreme priest which represented the link between the supreme god, the king and the society though the sent messenger each 5 years to Zalmoxis, the cult hearth, as ritual pits, could be linked to the adoration of some concrete gods from the Thraco-getic pantheon.

The specialists consider that rectangular or circular clay hearth often associated with “firedogs”, ornamented with circular décor done through impression, or with the representation of the “Thracian horseman” as on the pieces from Zolotaja Balka; or with cord in relief décor, alveolar and crested cord as those from Poiana and Pistiros, represent altars related to the adoration of Big Goddess, protector of family's hearth.

Lately was launched the assumption that clay altars could be linked to the cult of Dactyls – protectors of the extraction and manufacturing of iron – as the clay hearth from Pistiros were discovered concentrated in one single place with a lot of pieces of ore and iron slag, forming thus a sacred zone.

It is known that the Thracian-Geto-Dacian religion, being polytheist, disposed of a complicated doctrine with a lot of deities and as a consequence with a numerous cast of priests, hierarchical and well instructed (Sîrbu 2006, p. 21-86), which held a sufficient level of knowledge and skills necessary to forecast the weather according to the movement of the celestial bodies, using for this end the sanctuaries-calendars, to heal the humans and animals with medical plants, to practice the ceroplastics – “firedogs” – and different libations at the rectangular or circular altars.

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ISBN-10 973-8424-54-2
ISBN-13 978-973-8424-54-8